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IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 393

EDITORIALS
Expediency Plus Caution 396
The Case Against Cox 397

ARTICLES
Britain Between the Acts. I. What England Expects *by Freda Kirchwey* 398
25 Years Ago in *The Nation* 400
Stettinius and State *by I. F. Stone* 401
Economics of the Air *by Keith Hutchison* 402
War Profits and the Press *by Nathan Robertson* 405
In the Wind 407

POLITICAL WAR
Poland and Russia *by Marcin Rylski* 408
Behind the Enemy Line *by Argus* 410

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
Reflection. *A Poem by Babette Deutsch* 411
On the Creative Imagination *by Rolfe Humphries* 411
Two Revolutions in Plowing *by Russell Lord* 412
War Criminals *by Rustem Vambery* 413
Fiction in Review *by Diana Trilling* 414
Art *by Clement Greenberg* 416
Dance *by Virginia Mishnun* 416
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 416

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 418

CROSS-WORD PUZZLE NO. 33 420

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The Shape of Things

NOW THAT THE REICHSWEHR HAS PUT THE Dneiper between itself and the Red Army will it make a stand or will it merely fight a rearguard action on this natural defensive position and continue its retreat to the west? The answer to this question has an important bearing on the timing of the coming invasion of western Europe. According to Drew Middleton of the New York *Times,* writing from London, any indication that the German eastern army was becoming demoralized would strongly encourage a revision of the Anglo-American timetable for political as well as strategic reasons. It would suggest a reduction in the risks attending a landing in western Europe, making possible the undertaking of this operation with smaller forces than have hitherto been considered necessary. At the same time the approach of the Red Army to the borders of Poland, and even to Germany itself, would make it politically desirable that the Anglo-American forces should not lag too far behind. This dispatch appeared on September 25. Five days later the same correspondent reported that the majority of military experts in Britain were inclined to reject the popular estimate that the Germans had suffered a defeat of the first magnitude in Russia, and to believe that while their retreat may continue they will be able to make a stand on a shortened line running from Leningrad to Odessa. The facts available do, on the whole, tend to support this view. While the Reichswehr has been forced to retreat rapidly, it has not been routed and remains substantially intact. The comparatively meager number of prisoners reported by the Russians shows that they have not been able to cut off any large segment of enemy forces. But although this may lessen the strength of the political reasoning cited by Mr. Middleton, from our point of view it increases the urgency of an all-out offensive in the West.

*

THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE has finally decided to draft for immediate Senate consideration a resolution on international cooperation to replace the House Fulbright resolution. Chairman Connally had previously declared that in his opinion the Senate should wait until the international picture was clearer before bringing any resolution up for debate.

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Fear lest isolationists make statements that would arouse anxiety in Europe or open a breach with our allies appears to have been his primary reason for counseling delay. Fortunately, the President does not share this fear; following a hint to this effect from the White House, Senator Connally announced that he had "changed his mind." Doubtless a full-fledged Senate debate on foreign policy will produce some intemperate and alarming speeches. No one dares to hope that men like Wheeler, Nye, and Reynolds will refrain from statements that will hurt us in the eyes of the world. But these Senators, and others of their type, have been making foolish speeches for years, and it is high time that the world be given a convincing demonstration of the fact that they do not reflect majority opinion, either of the country as a whole or of the Upper House. The decision to shelve the Fulbright resolution is apparently due to resentment at the intrusion of the House into a field which the Senate considers peculiarly its own. We can only hope that this sense of outraged protocol will find appeasement in the production of a resolution even better than that sponsored by Mr. Fulbright.

✶

WALTER LIPPMANN HAS DELIVERED THE dictum that "angry articles in *The Nation* and *PM*" about the State Department are not of "cosmic significance." The decision comes as no great blow to the editors, though of course the business office is taking it hard. We are used to hacking away at dragons in our own crude and inconsequential way until such time as real knights like Sir Walter, armed with clarity and charity, decide to give battle. What bothers us about current discoveries that the State Department is unwell, now that rigor mortis has set in, are the pains taken by toplofty critics to dissociate themselves from the "ideological" approach. "What is the good," Mr. Lippmann asks, "of creating a myth about the department's being beset by ideologists when what is wanting is knowledge, judgment, and wise consideration of intensely practical and . . . vital American interests?" If we lived at the heights where Mr. Lippmann has his being perhaps we too would perceive pure knowledge, judgment, and wisdom suspended in a vacuum, without roots in the vulgar soil of "ideology." As it is, we shall have to go on in our angry way relating those attributes to democracy, the only ideology we care anything about.

✶

WHILE WE REMAIN UNCONVINCED THAT the defense of the country is exclusively the function of bachelors and childless husbands, we readily admit that an honest case can be made against the immediate drafting of fathers. What we do not concede is that Senator Wheeler has made out such a case or that he has in fact done anything but reveal the demagogic depths to which his vengefulness toward the President has carried him. The government is riddled with "slackers" who should be taken ahead of fathers was his first argument. Under questioning he was forced to admit both his inability to cite a single instance of draft dodging and his shocking ignorance of the actual number of government men who had been examined and rejected. When this slander was punctured by Senator Barkley, Wheeler pointed out that Britain and Russia are using "thousands of men" who would be classed 4-F by our draft boards. As though these men were substituting for fathers in those countries, or as though any country of the world, in any major war, had ever absolved fathers from active duty. Wheeler then tried futilely to twist General Marshall's testimony to his own purposes, and finally concluded with relish that the "man-power muddle" was attributable to "only one person in the country," supported of course by "bureaucrats" who sit in the safety and ease of Washington. One would think that Wheeler himself were speaking from a foxhole, this man whose only part in the war so far has been a bitter opposition to the Selective Service Act ("this talk about a crisis in this country ought to stop") and untiring efforts to spread disunity and suspicion.

✶

THE INFLATIONARY BLOC IN CONGRESS, relatively quiet since the setbacks of early summer, is again threatening the Administration's stabilization program. In a surprise move the House Agriculture Committee, under the leadership of the farm bloc, approved a bill to guarantee parity prices for all basic farm commodities. Passage of this bill would require the government loans now supporting the principal crops to be made at 100 per cent of parity instead of the 85 to 90 per cent rate now prevailing. Since this would force many food prices above the present ceilings, the Administration would be compelled either to raise the ceilings or to resort to heavier subsidies in order to preserve the existing price level. All proposals to increase subsidies are, however, meeting violent opposition from the same group that pushed the new parity bill through committee. Two large farm-bloc agencies, the National Cooperative Milk Producers' Federation and the American Farm Bureau Federation, have announced that they will seek legislation prohibiting further direct subsidies such as the one recently announced for milk producers. Meanwhile Marvin Jones, Food Administrator, is preparing to ask Congress for a $500,000,000 increase in the borrowing power of the Commodity Credit Corporation to provide the funds necessary for the roll-back program and for the stimulation of food production. Another bitter Congressional struggle over price policy appears to be inevitable, but the relative success of the roll-back program to date, plus fear of the wrath of

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organized labor at the 1944 elections, may make the task of the Administration's supporters easier than it was last June.

*

THE TREASURY'S NEW $10,000,000,000 TAX program, as indicated in Secretary Morgenthau's preview for the benefit of a few Congressional leaders, appears to be soundly based on the principle of capacity to pay. Approximately $6,400,000,000 of the new funds will be obtained from a rise in the rates on individual incomes, chiefly those in the $5,000 to $25,000 bracket. Another billion and a half is to be found by increasing the corporation tax, while the remainder will be obtained from steeper luxury taxes. Although the withholding tax would be stepped up from the present 20 per cent rate to 30 per cent, the burden on families with incomes of less than $2,000 would be reduced through a repeal of the unfortunate Victory Tax. To lighten the burden on the middle-income group, the Treasury has proposed a post-war refund of part of the tax to an amount not exceeding $500 in any one year. A special inducement will be offered to encourage taxpayers to use this refund to purchase government annuities or life insurance at rates based on actuarial tables. This proposal is of particular value since many families in the middle-income brackets are denied protection in old age under the existing Social Security Act, while the advantages of government life insurance have hitherto been reserved for war veterans. Some legislators have suggested that this program might not be liked by the big life-insurance companies, but experience under the Social Security Act has shown that the advertising given to life insurance by a limited government program tends to benefit the big companies.

*

PALESTINE'S JEWISH COMMUNITY HAS BEEN thoroughly aroused by the charges and insinuations of the British military prosecutor in the six weeks' gun-running trial which recently culminated in the conviction of two Jewish civilians of illegally possessing Australian and American arms and ammunition. Instead of sticking to the proved evidence, Major J. L. Baxter, the prosecutor, built his case on the vague and wholly unsupported allegation that there existed a "huge and ruthless organization" with power and wealth sufficient to obtain arms for the Palestine Jews. He particularly incensed the Jewish group by imputing "Nazi discipline" to the organization and implying that it had the connivance, if not the backing, of the Jewish Agency. The trial has reawakened tension between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. The Arabs profess concern over the steps the Jews may take if immigration is suspended next spring, while the Jews insist that the case is the outgrowth of the anti-Semitic attitude of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Palestine police. Certainly the British authorities in Jerusalem seem to have handled the case with a total lack of statesmanship. It is, of course, their job to stop gun-running—whether Jews or Arabs are involved—but their decision to turn an ordinary criminal trial into a political *cause célèbre* was unnecessarily provocative. And the irresponsible attacks that have been made on the Jewish Agency are well calculated to increase the influence of Zionist extremists.

*

WILLOW RUN, THE GREAT FORD BOMBER plant, should have been investigated months ago. Bomber production as a whole is behind schedule, and we hope the letter sent to the President by the United Automobile Workers' local at this famous but continuously disappointing Ford factory will lead the Truman committee to make an inquiry. Despite the man-power shortage at Willow Run, the management still refuses to hire Negro workers, of whom there are 6,000 available in the Detroit-Willow Run area. An additional building is being added to the plant, though its present facilities are idle six hours a day. Personnel and labor-relations policies are bad. Parts departments are being moved from Willow Run, which is to be converted into a final assembly plant. The workers, however, insist "that the record will show that the Ford Company has demonstrated that it can do a much better job of manufacturing small parts and assemblies than it can in performing the final assembly of planes. It has been in the final assembly departments of the Willow Run plant that the company has fallen down." The union "cannot understand why it should be decided, at this late date, to concentrate on this aspect of production, at which the Ford Motor Company has failed so conspicuously." From its first fatal failure to provide adequate housing, Willow Run has been operated in a way that seemed to court trouble and assure inefficiency.

*

THE RIGHT TO ELECT THEIR GOVERNORS would be given Puerto Ricans by a bill which the President has sent to Congress on the recommendation of an interdepartmental committee headed by Secretary Ickes. Both the President and the Secretary of the Interior have been friends and champions of the islanders, and we hope Congress will pass this long overdue measure. The case for it is eloquently and comprehensively argued by Rexford G. Tugwell, their present governor, in his new report to the Chavez committee of the United States Senate. Less dramatic but equally important is the need to centralize in one pair of hands the operations of all federal economic agencies in Puerto Rico and to make this officer subject to the governor. "If the federal administrators," Tugwell writes of his own troubles with them, "are unable or unwilling to submit to supervision by a Presidential appointee, they will reduce a Puerto

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Rican governor almost to invisibility." Beyond this desire for greater self-government are the profounder economic and social problems so ably presented by Tugwell. Freedom to Puerto Rico is an illusion unless (1) we enforce the land laws against large holdings, (2) encourage the diversification of agriculture, and (3) help develop new industries to provide employment. The last can be achieved only under government auspices, for Puerto Rican capitalists prefer the protected and subsidized sugar industry.

*

FRANK E. GANNETT HAS YET TO MAKE GOOD his threat of a libel suit against the author and publisher of "Under Cover," an exposure of fascist activities in the United States, but he is still using it as a means of intimidation. The latest success of the New York newspaper owner is in persuading radio station WGY in Schenectady to cancel a scheduled discussion of the book by its author, John Roy Carlson, and a panel of three critics. Judging by the outcome of Mr. Gannett's previous victories, this action should add thousands to the circulation of "Under Cover." Since it first came under attack this book has shot to the top of the best-seller list and the publishers are hard put to keep up with the demand. They must be grateful to Mr. Gannett.

Expediency plus Caution

WHILE the American and British armies have been thrusting the Germans out of Naples, General Eisenhower and his chief aides, together with Robert Murphy, United States diplomatic representative in North Africa, and Harold MacMillan, British Minister, have been negotiating with Marshal Badoglio at Malta. Although it is almost certain some decision has been reached on the future status of Italy in the war, no official announcement has yet been made. If the Darlan incident taught no other lesson to the Anglo-American high command, it impressed it with the need for seasoning expediency with caution.

Consequently we are now being treated to an unofficial, although rather obviously inspired, build-up of King Victor Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio. Three different bodies of opinion have to be reassured, or at least neutralized. In the first place, the Italian people have to be persuaded to "rally round the throne," and to this end the King and the Marshal are being permitted to broadcast appeals suggesting that this is the way to rid the country of Germans—an objective which all but a handful of Italians applaud. Thus in an interview in Algiers, beamed to Italy, Badoglio recalled the alliance of Britain, America, and Italy in the last war and said he was "convinced that this new cooperation will produce the same results."

Considering the spoils Italy acquired at Versailles, this suggestion may not sit too well with some of the United Nations—Yugoslavia and Greece, for instance. Nor are the American and particularly the British troops in Italy quite so willing to forgive and forget. The official organ of the British Eighth Army has been extremely frank on this subject, indicating that the men for which it speaks have been disconcerted to find the Italian civil administration hampering their activities. They cannot forget the comrades killed by Italian bullets, and they believe, says the Eighth Army *News*, that Italians must "pay the price of their folly in believing in Mussolini."

It is easy to understand why the veterans of El Alamein and the Mareth line hold such views; in the interest of army morale, they cannot be left out of account in whatever arrangements are made for the immediate future. Public opinion in America and Britain, however, is apt to take a rather milder stand. It has never been possible to feel that Fascism and the Italian people were as closely identified as Nazism and the Germans. The crime of the majority of Italians has been a negative, fatalistic acceptance of Fascism. But we may perhaps consider that they have made some atonement by their passive rejection of Mussolini's alliance with Hitler and of the war into which it plunged them. If the Italians had fought with the disciplined fervor of the Germans, the task of the United Nations in the Mediterranean theater would have been infinitely harder.

We may agree, then, that the Italian people should be given a chance to redeem themselves by helping to throw out the Nazis who are now ravaging their country. But we also believe that they deserve better leadership in this task than that which is being thrust upon them. And we are not impressed by the inspired statements being put out in an effort to soften or forestall liberal criticism. An Associated Press story from Washington, for instance, quotes an unnamed official as saying that the Italian royal house had a splendid tradition as a leader of liberal parliamentary government. "If the present king has hardly continued that tradition," the dispatch went on, "he nevertheless is the head of the house, thus giving the advantage of legality and legitimacy to the government accepted by the Allies." Hence, it is argued, he is the "natural rallying point for the reestablishment of democratic government." Here we see the State Department mind at work championing the cause of "legitimacy," for which it finds theoretical support in the works of the late Guglielmo Ferrero. Unfortunately, it forgets that the great Italian historian stressed the fact that legitimacy in this age derives from a democratic choice. Thus in urging the Italians to accept the leadership of the king it puts the cart before the horse. He can only achieve legitimacy by winning popular indorsement.

Existing sentiment in Italy clearly rejects the royal house. According to a New York *Times* dispatch from

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Capri, the trend of feeling among important elements is toward a republic, and even the army is said to be overwhelmingly anti-monarchical. If this is so, what guaranty have we that the present Italian regime can deliver the goods once we recognize it as head of a "cobelligerent state." It can hardly succeed in rallying the people unless it is put on a much broader basis and some substance is given to Mr. Churchill's assurance that no arrangements made now will prejudice the right of the Italians to a future free choice of their form of government. This could be done by bringing popular leaders into the Badoglio government, not as window-dressing, but as heads of some of the key departments, such as foreign affairs, finance, the interior, and education.

Italian liberals recognize that the primary task is to rid the country of Nazis. They are prepared, apparently, to put the monarchical question "on ice" for the duration and to accept Badoglio as the head of the army though not as political leader. And on this basis some form of cooperation may be achieved. Badoglio has declared that when the government is reestablished in Rome, "political participation will be extended on a wide basis," while the State Department has agreed to permit Count Sforza to return to Italy. But so long as the campaign to sell the House of Savoy continues, we cannot regard these swallows as signs that the democratic summer has arrived.

The Case Against Cox

NOW that the odor of scandal about Representative Eugene Cox of Georgia has grown too strong even for his friends in the House and he has been forced to resign as chairman of the committee investigating the Federal Communications Commission, it is time for Attorney General Biddle to take his courage in his hands and do something about the case of Cox and station WALB. The Attorney General months ago was given the check for $2,500 paid to Cox by that radio station. He was given evidence that Cox had represented the station in its dealings with the FCC. He was asked to investigate the question of whether the payment to Cox was in return for those services and if so to take action under the law which makes it a felony for a member of Congress to represent a client before a federal court or agency. So far Biddle has done nothing.

Far more courage has been shown in other quarters. Cox's resignation as chairman of a committee investigating the FCC is due principally to two men. The first is Clifford J. Durr, the one member of the FCC who had the nerve to file formal charges against Cox with the Speaker of the House. Durr contended that it was highly improper for the House to permit one of its members to investigate an agency which was in process of bringing serious charges against that member. Sharing credit for forcing Cox out is Eugene Meyer, editor and publisher of the Washington *Post*.

Only those who know Washington realize that the Washington papers exert a great influence on members of Congress—it is only less great than that of their home-town papers. The Washington *Post* under Meyer has become the capital's most respected and influential paper. A series of editorials in the *Post* on the Cox affair culminated in an energetic front-page open letter from Meyer to Speaker Rayburn, printed on September 27. Meyer demanded Cox's removal as head of the FCC inquiry on the ground that "the legislator shall not for private pay place himself in a position of possible conflict with public duty." Three days later Cox turned in his resignation as chairman. This was a victory for decent government, and we congratulate Meyer.

Credit must also go to Representative Magnuson, Democrat, of Washington, a member of the committee investigating the FCC, for threatening to take the fight against Cox to the floor. And the American Civil Liberties Union is likewise entitled to a share of praise. A group acting for the A. C. L. U. placed a comprehensive analysis of the Cox case and the work of the Cox committee on the desk of every member of Congress the day the Washington *Post's* open letter appeared. The committee was headed by Professor Clarence R. Ayres of the University of Texas and included Charles Beard, George Counts, Morris Ernst, Arthur Garfield Hays, Thomas R. Carskadon, Robert E. Cushman, Dean Christian Gauss of Princeton, William Allan Neilson, Jennings Perry, editor of the Nashville *Tennessean,* and Clarence L. Watts, a prominent Alabama attorney.

The analysis made by this group paves the way for the next task, which is to remove Eugene L. Garey as counsel for the committee investigating the FCC. The report by the A. C. L. U. committee leaves no doubt about the unfair and one-sided way in which Garey has conducted the hearings, which have "been given over to charges and accusations, largely unsupported by evidence, without a chance for the commission to reply."

The A. C. L. U. report makes it clear that in investigating foreign-language stations, the FCC was not presuming to act as censor but was acting on the instructions of the Office of Censorship. The latter had asked the FCC to look into complaints against pro-fascist Italian and German radio announcers. The witnesses whose grievances were aired by the Cox committee were largely drawn from the stations and the announcers suspected of fascist sympathies. One was an Italian announcer formerly interned as an enemy alien. In this as in other spheres of the inquiry Cox and Garey gave the FCC no hearing, permitted it no defense. The only "free speech" in which they seemed to be interested was that of suspected fascists. We believe the counsel, Garey, should follow the chairman, Cox, into the discard.

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Britain Between the Acts

I. WHAT ENGLAND EXPECTS

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

I FOUND Britain immensely difficult to grasp, and now I find it equally hard to write about. Any single concept, any easy generalization, denies itself as soon as it is made. Just before I left London I met with the members of the American division of the Ministry of Information—my official hosts. I tried to tell them what I had seen and what the things I had seen meant to me. My impressions criss-crossed one another; my conclusions were tentative to the point of helplessness. I could have made clearer comments about Britain before I went there.

I say this not by way of apology for what will follow in these articles. The contradictions in British life after four years of war are real: they are important and mark the beginning of the end of a period. It is those contradictions that must be reported and analyzed. The instinct of a reporter is to simplify, to focus his material. Three years ago one could have done that without falsifying the facts. To do it today would be dishonest. Three years ago, even two years ago, Britain was a nation fighting for its existence against unlikely odds. Today it is part of a great coalition certain of ultimate victory but uncertain of what lies beyond victory. Its temper, its behavior partake of both periods. Even its picture of itself is distorted by the swift change in its situation and prospect. English friends told me: "You've come here at a slack moment. This lull affects everybody. We're all tired, and now that things are going well at the front, people are letting down. You should have seen this country after Dunkirk, and all through the blitz." Or they said: "You'll find the workers rather cynical. It's the sort of mood they get into during a lull. They'll come out of it when something happens. Either a big victory or a big defeat stiffens them up."

These comments were true enough; but they were only part-truths. They missed one of the most important facts of all, the fact that Britain is in a process of profound transition. The tension of the months when invasion was a daily possibility, the unity created by the blitz, those are gone, or largely gone. They should go. The fusion of a nation, its ruthless self-discipline, its conversion from a people into an army, are healthy only so long as they are necessary. The girl working at a machine for three-quarters the wage of the man working at an identical machine next to her will accept that situation as long as he and she and their machines are engaged in a struggle for survival. But when a "lull" comes—when the smoke of battle clears and the combatants find themselves not only alive but in sight of victory—then the girl begins to wonder why her pay is lower than his, and he too begins to wonder whether it wouldn't be just as well to "upgrade" her so that she can't undercut him and pull down the whole scale after the war. This is the sort of symptom of change you find everywhere in Britain. And you find it mixed with that solid determination and sense of a common cause that still hold the great war machine together. Both moods are there, and many modifications of both. And they affect not only working people but government officials and journalists and politicians and even factory managers. The future is crowding in on the present, thrusting forward new threats and promises, creating doubts. . . . I asked a foreman in a small war plant what he thought would happen to it after the war. Would it keep open? He looked very grim and, for an Englishman, even theatrical. "We'll keep this place running," he said, "if we have to use a machine-gun to do it."

TRANSATLANTIC

The plane was dark and stripped bare of insulation. The engines roared, and sleep seemed a remote hope. We sat five in a compartment, our light luggage and overcoats strewed around us. N. A., my seat-mate, was kind beyond all the demands of politeness. He refused to spread out over his share of the long seat; refused even to stretch his legs. He sat quiet as a Buddha, his coat draped over his head, an eyeshade over his eyes, his arms folded, his legs propped up on his rucksack. As the noisy hours wore on he scarcely moved. "That's how he survives," I decided. "He is not young; he is not strong; but he draws into himself and saves his energy." Wriggling in my corner, I marveled at his immobility. The other occupants of the compartment shifted and heaved and pushed their luggage around. Our ten legs seemed to multiply in the space between the seats. Once I ventured out into the corridor. A single berth was made up: one passenger was crossing the ocean in horizontal comfort. Next day I discovered who it was—a British M. P., Sir —— ——. His exclusive position drew tart comments from several compatriots; but since he didn't hear them his calm was unshaken. Englishmen will have to learn to speak louder if privilege is to be made uncomfortable—even in war time. Its possessors have taken it for granted too long.

My first discussion of British conditions was at dinner

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the second night. We had assimilated the roar of the engines and could hear one another talk. The little dining compartment seemed sociable and bright, and the dark ocean below us was out of mind. My table companion didn't identify himself, and it was not until later that I found he was a member of a powerful old industrialist family and himself a distinguished social worker. He was eager that I should not delude myself into expecting profound social change—or any wide demand for it. "What people want now and will want after the war is security, not change. The men in the forces want their jobs back. They intend to settle down with their families and forget the war. They will vote for people who promise jobs and security; not for those who urge them to rise up and seize new power. Even the young fellows. Many of them have got married during the war. The rest want to get married. After four or five years of war—years snatched out of their education, their work, their normal life—they are looking forward to homes and a settled job."

"I wonder," I said. "Last time there was a lot of restlessness after the war—especially among the demobilized troops. They wanted change. They couldn't settle easily into old ruts. Many went to the left. Many were all but unemployable. Thousands emigrated. . . ."

"Yes, there will be a lot like that. But the men who are emotionally uprooted by war are always a minority; the great mass are normal people desiring with extra intensity the normal satisfactions they've been deprived of. You'll see. In any case, I suggest that you regard skeptically the ideas of leftists who expect great changes after the war."

But his warning was unnecessary. I met very few—left or right—who expect very much.

POST-BLITZ LONDON

London was worse than I had anticipated. The destruction of famous buildings, the empty spaces around St. Paul's, the ruins in the Temple and House of Commons—these I accepted without shock. What surprised me was the minor damage everywhere. Hardly a street is intact. The façades may be whole; but behind them are gutted interiors. The buildings may be sound—and lived in—but the windows are patched. Or entire blocks may give the appearance of normality while in fact every house has been so shaken that it is structurally unsafe for habitation. So many churches were gutted that the blitz came to be symbolized for me by a glimpse of sky through the window of a Christopher Wren steeple.

With Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman*, and one of his staff, I visited the East End—street after street of two-story houses in the dreary area down toward the docks. A member of the Women's Voluntary Services drove us. She had worked in that section throughout the worst raids, and both Martin and his associate had put in many days there. Direct hits had wiped out countless houses, but the astonishing sight to me was the rows of structures not smashed or outwardly much damaged but shivered from end to end by lateral explosions. The region is a desert. Houses here and there are lived in; some whole blocks seem populated; but from other sections most of the people have gone. The streets where Mosley's toughs paraded are empty of Jews and fascists alike.

The car stopped at a house in a half-abandoned street next to a demolished church. We walked through to the rear and found an Anglican priest in shabby robes busy tending a garden surrounding a neat lawn. Vegetables grew behind a fine display of dahlias and delphiniums. The priest, Father Richards, had turned the yard of the house and the empty space behind the church, produced by the bombing, into a hidden oasis. We talked a while, and then Father Richards came with us on an inspection of his neighborhood. He had lived there for years, working with another well-known and loved priest, Father Grosser. During the blitz they had done a big job of sheltering and caring for the homeless.

Before the raids began, the government had prepared for a totally different emergency from the one which developed. It had expected wounds and deaths by bombing and fire; London's hospitals had been cleared out and thousands of papier mâché coffins provided. What it hadn't expected were mass homelessness and the destruction of clothes and household goods. Relatively few people were killed, but vast numbers lost everything they owned. As a consequence the authorities were all but helpless during the first great raids; relief had to be improvised in the face of incredible confusion and suffering, and the emergency work was done by the churches and voluntary societies and by heroic individuals like Father Grosser.

The blitz has moved back far enough to take its place in history; but not so far that any of the details are forgotten. People talk about that period of terror as if it were a priceless national possession. They regard it as something to take pride in and exhibit to visitors. And it has produced a voluminous folklore which should somehow be preserved. In it are to be found most of the typical qualities of the nation—its resistance to regimentation, its irritating habit of converting emotion into comic understatement, its talent for creating thoroughly inefficient forms of organization which work with amazing success, even its exaggerated love of pets. All these and a hundred others are imbedded in the endless saga of the blitz—a saga which, like every genuine folk tale at its inception, is still being told by word of mouth. Any individual you talk to has better stories to tell than you ever read.

PLANS AND POLITICS

Several master plans for the rebuilding of London have been made and exhibited. Everybody talks about them. Hitler's bombers have presented the people of

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London with a challenge that the least imaginative can hardly ignore. A handsome volume embodying the London County Council plan was sold out almost as soon as it appeared. But Father Richards and Kingsley Martin discussed with considerable skepticism the chances of these over-all projects. They doubt whether any of them can get past the organized resistance of the various interests, economic and political, which stand to lose by them. Not even the L. C. C. plan has government backing. And already big sections in the devastated areas have been bought up for speculative purposes. It will take tremendous public pressure to prevent a piecemeal restoration, jerry-built and keyed to profit.

Father Richards said the people of the East End were curiously apathetic about politics. They expect little from Labor and nothing from any other party. A few energetic Communists carry on, but without much following. The electoral truce, however necessary as a war measure, has, he believes, flattened out the opposition and robbed it of its functions. "Of course most of the young men and women are away," he said. "Nobody knows what mood they'll come back in."

In a rather long discussion that followed, he and Kingsley Martin between them developed a position which I shall summarize here without attributing it in full to either man. It is worth setting down for its intrinsic interest and also because it was put to me many times by other shrewd and watchful persons; it is roughly the position of the skeptical left intellectual at this moment in Britain. According to this view, Labor's leaders, both in the party and in the unions, would be afraid of power even if they could get it. They have no serious hope or desire to make a Socialist England. A few modest reforms and retention in the peace of some of the most valuable war-time controls are about all they expect. This moderate program is so obviously essential if economic collapse and dangerous unrest are to be avoided that business and the Conservatives will probably accept it and will keep Labor in a continued coalition to carry the country through the period of demobilization and industrial conversion. Thus a triumvirate of big business, Conservative politics, and official Labor will create a sort of national semi-socialism, propped up on the right by trade pacts and, if necessary, subsidies and on the left by educational reforms, continued welfare schemes, and a fair chunk of the Beveridge plan.

This view, I need not say, is rejected by the Labor people I talked with, whether government officials or trade-union or party leaders. They have, it is true, a stake in a more aggressive and optimistic view of the future; they will also have more to do with creating that future. I shall get around to their opinions in a later article.

[In the second article of this series Miss Kirchwey will take up South Wales and Glasgow, with particular attention to the "red" workers and their leaders.]

25 Years Ago in "The Nation"

IN ONE OF HIS LATEST speeches the German Emperor characterized this war as a struggle between American and German (Prussian) ideals. In fact, the war is a struggle between democracy and theocratic monarchism. . . . In this struggle the Czechoslovak nation joined the Allies. . . . One hears the argument that the German minorities in the new national states might be endangered. . . . So long as they exist, however, the democratic rule of the majority must be put into effect. Is it more just, for instance, that ten million Czechs and Slovaks should be oppressed by Austria-Hungary than that the Germans in Bohemia and Moravia, numbering only three millions, possess national freedom?—THOMAS G. MASARYK, *October 5, 1918.*

"VON HINDENBURG SPURS ARMY ON," reports a headline. So the old rascal lives, after all. In the last six months, to our certain knowledge, he has actually died four times, once after a violent quarrel with the Kaiser—or was it the Crown Prince?—and has been in four sanitariums and three insane asylums.—*October 5, 1918.*

CHEERING NEWS for our downtrodden friend the ultimate consumer is contained in Chairman Baruch's announcement that the War Industries Board has put into effect fixed prices and selling arrangements for boots and shoes at retail.—*October 12, 1918.*

DISTINGUISHED BY MR. EASTMAN'S remarkable speech to the jury, as noteworthy for its legal ability as for its eloquence and straightforwardness, the second trial of the *Masses* editors ended like the first, with the jury unable to agree.—*October 12, 1918.*

IT WAS LORD ROSEBERRY who once wrote that in his Utopia he would like to have a board of censors appointed to divide the world "into those people whose biographies were to be written and those whose biographies were not to be written." Were there such a board, it would, we are sure, include autobiography within its domain, and then acclaim "The Education of Henry Adams," just issued for the public (by the Houghton Mifflin Company), as one of the very great autobiographies of our literature—the rare kind to be fostered.—OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, *October 12, 1918.*

THE SERIOUS STUDENT of contemporary things who sees the title "The Willy-Nicky Correspondence: Being the Secret and Intimate Telegrams Exchanged Between the Kaiser and the Tsar" (Knopf; $1) is not apt to believe that he has in hand a significant contribution to historical literature. It should be said in defense of the publishers that this silly title does indeed render faithfully the spirit of the work.—*October 19, 1918.*

THE SEPARATION OF HUNGARY from Austria, prematurely announced as already decided on at Budapest, is at least under discussion on motion of Count Karolyi, and it appears to have a strong body of opinion behind it.—*October 26, 1918.*

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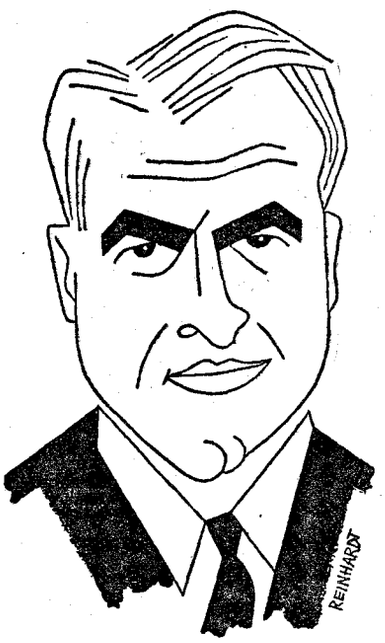
Stettinius and State

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, September 30

THE inner circle at the State Department suffered a defeat when the President appointed Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Under Secretary of State and set up the new Foreign Economic Administration. Secretary Hull would have preferred Breckinridge Long or Norman H. Davis as Under Secretary. Some of his closest departmental advisers had hoped to bring Lend-Lease, the Office of Economic Warfare, and Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation directly under State Department control. These agencies were assigned instead to the new FEA under Leo T. Crowley. According to the President's executive order, the new agency was also to take over the Office of Foreign Economic Coordination, which has been operating in the State Department under Assistant Secretary Dean Acheson. But this section of the executive order contained a parenthetic loophole—"(except such functions and personnel thereof as the Director of the Budget shall determine are not concerned with foreign economic operations)"—and the department at this writing seems to be hoping to salvage and retain this office and most of the men in it. It contains many new men and much fresh young blood.



Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.

One of the methods which Mr. Roosevelt uses to keep his audience from getting too restive is to shift the scenes and costumes from time to time. If a change had to be made, it wasn't a bad idea to place all foreign economic activities under a single agency, and it was a good idea to organize that new agency outside the State Department. One of the obstacles to good government is the tendency of departments to grow too large for any one man to handle, and a far better administrator than Secretary Hull would have been a bottleneck if these activities had all been placed under his jurisdiction. Crowley has wisely announced that he will retain Lend-Lease, Relief and Rehabilitation, and Economic Warfare as divisions within the new FEA.

Crowley is not one of those characters who burn with a hard, gemlike flame. He has managed to keep several jobs and his health by letting well enough alone. As Alien Property Custodian, he has been nothing to write harshly to the Bank of International Settlements about. Where there has been no outside pressure, Crowley has let big business and the carteleers have their way. But he will also leave alone the progressives under him, provided only that there is peace and quiet. All things considered —I am beginning to feel like Boethius adjusting himself to the barbarians—those agencies could have a much worse boss than Crowley.

I would not speak harshly of the departed, but it is wise to remember that under Milo Perkins, for all his devoted work and courageous struggle, the Board of Economic Warfare was beginning in many of its sections to be a little replica of the WPB. By a gravitational process whose effects are visible everywhere in government, private interests were taking over control of the strategic posts affecting them. Though Perkins is gone, the same private interests are still active. But Crowley has announced that Lauchlin Currie will remain as executive officer in charge of economic warfare, and I know of no abler or more genuine progressive in Washington. It is equally good news that Crowley has placed Murray Latimer in charge of foreign relief and rehabilitation. Latimer is an old and devoted New Dealer. I know little about Bernhard Knollenberg, who was senior deputy administrator of Lend-Lease under Stettinius and is to remain acting administrator of this division under Crowley.

Almost everyone, including *The Nation's* own dour correspondent, seemed pleased by the Stettinius appointment. Lindley likes him, Lippmann likes him, the *Daily Worker's* Lapin likes him (though in moderation), and Helen Essary in Cissie Patterson's *Times-Herald* positively gurgled. "Mr. Hull, Mr. Stettinius, and Mr. Harriman," Mrs. Essary believes, "will make an elegant trio of good-looking, intelligent Americans when they bow to Mr. Stalin. . . . Long-legged ambassadors are always impressive—and smooth." Stettinius does seem to be what readers of less literate publications than *The Nation* would call a swell egg—an unfamiliar type in the State Department, where most of the officials seem to be trying hard to look like one of their own ancestral portraits. Since we are gathered together, however, to do more than size up a new recruit for a college fraternity,

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it might be well to subject the Stettinius appointment to dispassionate scrutiny.

Stettinius is a White House choice, and that means that the Under Secretaryship is once again to be held by a Roosevelt man rather than a Hull man. This is to the good, though the President and his Secretary are much closer than the former likes the liberals to think. Stettinius was acceptable to Hull. Stettinius did not object to giving the State Department greater control over the economic agencies. One plan was to place these agencies in the department and make the heads of each an Assistant Secretary. Stettinius, unlike Lehman, was reported to be in favor of this proposal. For Stettinius does not like to take too much responsibility. He was continually in hot water at the Defense Commission and the OPM when he had to make decisions. He did not begin to make friends and influence people until he was placed in charge of Lend-Lease. Most decisions were made for Lend-Lease by other agencies. Materials were allocated to it by the WPB, food by the WFA, munitions by a joint Anglo-American munitions board. Stettinius could make promises but not assure deliveries. That rested in other hands.

Stettinius is a likable and unspoiled variety of the genus rich man's son. He was one of the big business men cultivated by Hopkins in order to give the New Deal some upper-class support. As head of United States Steel, Stettinius—like J. P. Morgan and Company, the firm's financial advisers—was relatively friendly to labor and enlightened on price problems. At the Defense Commission, where he was in charge of materials, he helped the basic raw-material monopolies, especially in steel and aluminum, to ward off expansion. At the OPM, where he was in charge of priorities, he failed to impose them strictly enough to end the waste of steel, aluminum, copper, rubber, and other vital materials by booming civilian industries. In neither case did his inaction spring from lack of patriotism. He naturally believed what he was told by his big-business colleagues and customers; he is that kind of man. At Lend-Lease, with many young New Dealers on his staff instead of Gano Dunns, dealing with matters which did not immediately affect his own business, Stettinius won the liking of men who had previously attacked him. Again like Morgan, he was friendly to Britain and the Soviets, and this is important in his new position.

He is a man of good-will, but he is not forceful, shrewd, or well-informed. The deft and subtle cliques in the State Department may find this big guileless boy scout easy pickings.

Economics of the Air

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

WHAT will happen to our war-inflated aviation industries when peace comes? Will there be a shrinkage as dramatic as the expansion which has taken place in the last three years? Must we write off as war scrap the colossal investment in plant and machinery? Must the majority of the two and a half million workers now employed in building planes find other jobs? Or have we, as an incident to meeting the demands of war, laid the foundations for an expansion of civil aviation great enough to maintain the manufacture of planes as a major industry?

The scheduled output of the American aviation industry for 1943 is $20 billion—one-fifth of our estimated total war expenditure, one-eighth of our swollen national income. True, it seems unlikely, because of man-power and other difficulties, that this goal will be achieved. But even if we allow for a 10 per cent lag, a total output of $18 billion would still mean a production ten times as great as in 1941 and more than sixty times that of 1938. In 1939 aviation stood forty-fourth in dollar volume among the nation's industries; today it has taken the lead by a huge margin, and it now completely dwarfs the automobile industry, which at its 1941 peak turned out vehicles valued at $3.7 billion.

During the last war, as aviation authorities never tire of reminding us, there was a comparable expansion followed by practical collapse. For a long time government orders were negligible, and large numbers of surplus military machines sold at low prices satisfied the demands both of the amateur enthusiasts and of those professionals who sought a precarious career as barnstormers. It was a discouraging period for manufacturers who had large plants and designs for improved machines but no visible market.

We must remember, however, that prior to 1914 flying was little more than a dangerous hobby and that there had been no commercial development. Under the forced draft of war, techniques of manufacture and operation improved rapidly, and by 1918 aviation was ready for the experimental stage of commercial exploitation. That was the year the United States Air Mail was started, and from then on, although progress often seemed heartbreakingly slow to the impatient pioneers, aviation began to establish itself as an accepted form of transporta-

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tion. By the beginning of the present war it was well beyond the incubator stage in the domestic field and was beginning to reach out for international traffic.

When peace comes again, therefore, commercial aviation will not be starting from scratch. On the contrary, it will have a well-developed organization all ready to go ahead with plans which, but for the conflict, would probably have matured much more slowly. Once again war has proved to be the mother of new techniques. It has fostered new designs, new and cheaper methods of manufacture. It has rapidly advanced the science of meteorology and has promoted the invention of a host of navigational aids. Peace-time applications of "radar," for instance, will make all-weather flying far safer and do much to solve the problems of air-traffic control.

In the last war the plane was only a weapon; in this it is playing an increasingly important part as a means of transport. The Army Air Transport Command is covering more than 90,000 route miles, linking this country with every theater in which American troops are engaged. Hundreds of transocean flights are being made every week with large numbers of passengers and millions of pounds of cargo. And, in addition, the services maintain regular transport flights over many internal routes. Much of this work is being carried out under contract by the established air lines, which are thus being afforded a priceless opportunity for training their pilots in intercontinental flying. "The most important air-line attainment of 1942," wrote Robert S. Morton in *Flying* for January, 1943, "is this intangible but invaluable experience being acquired in every phase of air-transport operation under almost every conceivable condition. All this, financed by the government, will redound to the benefit of the commercial operators in the post-war period."

Nor are these the only contributions of the war to the future of civil aviation. The training of hundreds of thousands of pilots and navigators and of millions of mechanics is providing both an enormous reservoir of technicians for the industry and a huge potential market of the "air-minded." Again, military exigencies have necessitated the construction of hundreds of modern airfields both at home and abroad. Many of these, of course, have only strategic significance, but others are so located that they can be easily adapted to commercial purposes.

We cannot doubt, then, that after the war conditions will be ripe for a rapid and immense expansion of civil aviation in all its forms. But let us not forget that it will be an expansion controlled and limited by economic factors. Those enthusiasts who prophesy the early displacement by the plane of all other forms of transport are doing aviation no service, for their calculations seem to leave out of account the vital question of comparative costs. In an address delivered in November, 1942, W. A. Patterson, president of United Air Lines, extinguished some of the wilder claims with a jet of statistical cold water. He pointed out that an average freight train operating between Chicago and San Francisco would carry 780 tons of revenue cargo and make two round trips a month at a total operating cost of $50,000. To move the same amount of freight by air, in the same period of time, 57 planes of the Mainliner type used by the United Air Lines would be required at a total operating cost of $1,750,000. Comparisons with ocean-freighter costs are equally illuminating. Mr. Patterson took as an example a cargo steamer carrying a revenue load of 6,400 short tons from San Francisco to Brisbane, Australia. The round trip under peace-time conditions would take about two months, and the total operating costs would be about $120,000. If four-motored transport planes, carrying four tons of cargo, were used to haul the same amount of goods, 1,440 trans-Pacific round-trip flights would have to be made in the same period; 144 planes would be required to perform the job; and these would consume about 18,000,000 gallons of gasoline while the ship was burning less than half a million gallons of fuel oil. The cost of this gasoline alone would be $2,250,000, and total plane operating costs would be $29,000,000. Moreover, in order to lay down the necessary gasoline supplies for refueling in Australia and at intermediate points, three tankers would be needed.

Mr. Patterson's figures are based, of course, on the use of present-day equipment. No doubt these costs will be gradually reduced by the use of lighter metals and materials, by the design of more efficient planes and engines, and possibly by the discovery of more economical fuels. But our inventive geniuses have a long way to go before they can build machines to overcome gravity as efficiently as a locomotive or a ship overcomes surface friction. The major part of the power developed by an airplane motor is consumed in lifting the machine into the air and keeping it there; only a relatively minor portion is available for the task of pulling a useful load.

The economy of the airplane in competition with well-developed land and sea transport systems lies only in the time factor, thanks to which it is able to compete for passenger traffic on medium or long hauls and for specialized freight. In passenger transport the time element serves to increase the costs of the older methods. A man who is spending three or four days in a transcontinental train or upward of four days on a transocean trip wants something more than mere transport; he demands hotel service. That means that every passenger consumes a large amount of cubic space. On the other hand, a plane flying from New York to London in ten or twelve hours, while it may have to provide a meal or two and some kind of sleeping accommodation, does not need to give fifty passengers any more cubic space than a single passenger would occupy on the Normandie. Thus

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it is not surprising that the air lines are able to forecast future passenger rates to London of about $100 per head, or far below the fares charged by the pre-war luxury liners. And at such rates not only will most of the post-war transatlantic passenger traffic move by air, but a great increase in the total volume of travel to and from Europe can be confidently predicted. The Queen Elizabeth is probably the last of the great floating hotels.

As soon as they can get sufficient new equipment, the air lines will also begin to bite deeply into domestic long-distance passenger traffic. Already the costs of air travel have been brought within striking distance of first-class railroad fares. A recent 10 per cent cut in air-line rates makes it possible to fly from New York to Chicago for only $2 more than it would cost to take a lower berth on a Pullman. There should be still further reductions after the war, and provided that competition between the airplane and the railroad is not artificially restricted, it should be possible in the not very distant future to travel by air at no more expense than is involved in the cost of a railroad coach ticket at present.

When it comes to freight, however, the airplane has an advantage over land and sea transport only when the goods to be shipped have a high value in relation to bulk or when the time element is especially important. Edward Warner, vice-chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, has estimated the minimum cost of moving mixed freight by air, even when all-cargo planes are used, at 16 cents per ton-mile. Allowing for a post-war increase in efficiency, this authority believes that the cost might be reduced to 14 cents per ton-mile provided speed was kept under 200 miles per hour and frequent stops were made for refueling. Thus the minimum cost of moving a ton of freight by air across the Atlantic would be in the neighborhood of $462, which compares with shipping costs, even at war-time rates inflated by high insurance and crew bonuses, of about $30 for the transatlantic trip, or less than one cent per ton-mile. Obviously as long as anything like such a margin exists, there can be no question of moving bulk cargoes by air. Wheat, metals, gasoline, meat, coffee, machinery—all the items that comprise the major part of international trade—will continue to move by sea for many decades.

It is more expensive to move goods by rail than by water, but even so rail freight rates are far below those charged by the air lines. The average rate on railroad express shipments is around 10 cents a ton-mile, while air express, even after recent cuts ranging up to 12½ per cent, is many times as great. Undoubtedly there is scope for much greater reductions in rates if the air lines organize to get the business, as they have not done hitherto. The recent abrogation of their restrictive contract with the Railway Express Agency is an important first step in this direction.

If within the next few years air freight rates are brought within hailing distance of Mr. Warner's theoretical cost figures, below 20 cents a ton-mile, there will undoubtedly be a tremendous increase in the volume of goods moved by air. But this will not touch the bulk freight business of either railroads or shipping companies. As Mr. Patterson pointed out in the address already cited, the volume of domestic air cargo could increase one-hundred-fold and still capture only 0.1 per cent of the freight now carried by American railroads.

What is likely to happen is that the air lines will develop a good deal of specialty traffic in goods which because of their perishable nature cannot at present be shipped long distances. We may receive in New York, for instance, tree-ripened fruit from California or the Caribbean, or flowers picked in the south of France twenty-four hours earlier. Of a more prosaic nature is the opportunity that exists for the building up of a big business in the carriage of spare parts. Provided they can count on overnight delivery, dealers and manufacturers will be able to absorb additional transport costs by savings on inventory charges.

And while the plane will create new traffic for itself, it will also be the means of originating new business for its rivals. The automobile took many passengers from the railroads, but at the same time it added to railroad freight revenues by its demands for raw materials and the carriage of finished products to distant places. So, too, the growth of the aviation industry will require the services of many freight cars. Shipping will also benefit, particularly the tanker trade, since international air traffic will depend on many bases far removed from fuel supplies.

Assuming that commercial aviation is permitted to develop along economical lines, without interference for the benefit of existing monopolies, what sort of expansion can be safely predicted for the first decade or two after the war? The National Resources Planning Board estimates that within this period air travel in the United States will take more than 70 per cent of the present-day Pullman traffic, which will mean the transportation of roughly twenty million passengers per year. Other good authorities regard this estimate as conservative, and there is in fact reason to believe that the air lines will eventually capture nearly 100 per cent of the long-distance passenger traffic on both domestic and international routes. In 1942 only about 5 per cent of first-class mail moved by air; this figure could be multiplied many times if the air-mail surcharge was abolished—a step which has recently been urged in Congress. Finally, we may expect a very considerable growth in the carriage of goods by air even though the overwhelming mass of freight continues to move by sea, rail, and road.

What will such an expansion in air traffic mean for the manufacturers of planes? Since our commercial air fleet operating over domestic routes comprised only some

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350 machines in 1941, even a ten- or twenty-fold increase might seem rather small potatoes to an industry which is now producing at the rate of 100,000 planes a year. But if the predictions previously mentioned are fulfilled, an increase of a much greater order may reasonably be expected. Mr. Patterson, who has earned a reputation for sober prophecy, believes that his United Air Lines alone will require more than 5,000 planes to handle the business which will be developed within the next ten years. On this basis a total commercial air fleet of some 50,000 machines, covering foreign and domestic routes, would not be a far-fetched estimate, and this would mean a replacement market of some 10,000 planes annually. Add the demands of the export trade and the requirements of the armed services, which are not likely to be reduced to pre-war levels, and we can see that although the process of reconversion will be a painful one, the prospects for the aviation industry are not so gloomy as is sometimes suggested. Moreover, we have not taken into account at all the certain but perhaps slower expansion in private flying, for this is a subject that requires separate treatment.

Perhaps the best index to the future prospects of commercial aviation is the huge volume of applications for new routes at home and abroad which are now swamping the Civil Aeronautics Board. The disposal of these applications can hardly be achieved without a settlement of some extremely controversial questions: Should surface transport companies be permitted to enter the field of aviation? Should overseas air traffic become a government preserve, a private monopoly, or be thrown open to competition? On what basis is international air traffic between the different sovereign states to be regulated? These problems will be discussed in further articles.

War Profits and the Press

BY NATHAN ROBERTSON

THOUGH the newspapers are doing their best to keep the public from knowing it, corporation profits are running far higher in this war than they did in World War I, which raised a crop of 23,000 new millionaires.

During the last war there was a lot of talk about profiteering, and yet when the full story was told after the war the public was so shocked that it firmly resolved never to let it happen again. Both major parties pledged themselves to prevent it. Scores of measures were introduced in Congress to control future war profits. And when mobilization for this war started, President Roosevelt promised that a new crop of war millionaires would not be permitted. Since then there has been little talk of war profiteering except with reference to labor unions and farmers. The public has been given the impression that with a 90 per cent excess-profits tax and a maximum income tax of 92 per cent on individuals it can't happen again. Unfortunately, it is happening again.

As was the case last time, we shall not know the full story until the war is over. But despite the silence of most newspapers, the kind of story it will be has already been indicated. Much of the evidence was developed at the recent hearings of the House Ways and Means Committee on the contract-renegotiation law.

Industry has demanded the repeal of the renegotiation law, under which contracts are revised to prevent excessive profits. At the hearings business men tried to show that they were taking extreme risks for a small and inadequate return, but the evidence they presented was a boomerang. If industry was less harmed than might have been expected, it was only because the newspapers generally ignored the revelations. They carried the business men's scare stories that high taxes and contract renegotiations were going to leave them without sufficient funds to carry on in the post-war period but not the figures that refuted them, even when the figures came from official sources or from the reluctant lips of the industry witnesses themselves.

The most sensational development of the hearings was an estimate by Under Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson that by the end of next year corporations engaged in profitable war work would have accumulated the equivalent of a post-war reserve of more than $42 billion. This is more than the entire national income in 1932, the last year of the Hoover Administration. It is more than the national debt at the outbreak of the war—the debt that the New Deal had incurred to keep the nation going and to feed hungry mouths and that business was screaming would ruin the country. Yet hardly a newspaper mentioned the figure. Most newspapers carried long stories about renegotiation but found no room for Patterson's startling statement.

Actually the Under Secretary's estimate was conservative. He obtained it by adding the following figures, which represent sums that will be available to the prosperous corporations by the end of next year at the present rate of profits: $2 billion in post-war refunds from excess-profits taxes; $22¼ billion in undistributed profits retained by the corporations out of their war business

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after the payment of all taxes and dividends during the years 1941-44; $5 billion in new plants and equipment paid for by the companies out of their war business, in addition to profits; $13 billion in excess-profits taxes available for refunds to the corporations if their profits should fall below normal in the two succeeding years.

Treasury figures show that Patterson's figure of $13 billion available for post-war refunds from war taxes was a gross underestimate. The amount, at the present rate of accumulation, will be $26 billion. This $26 billion constitutes a virtual guaranty of normal profits and makes the demand for additional post-war reserves sound a little hollow. Thus revised, the figures given above, most of them representing war profits, add up to more than $55 billion instead of Patterson's more conservative $42 billion.

Over and above this huge sum, the corporations have acquired other potential wealth from the war. The government has built for them, for war production, more than $14 billion worth of plants and machinery. Many of these plants will have great value after the war. The companies have options on them, and will probably be able to buy them for much less than their cost. In some cases the government will have to take the prices offered by the companies or junk the plants. The total of post-war reserves and possible collateral benefits derived from the war is therefore about $70 billion—in addition to the profits enjoyed by stockholders during the war and the swollen salaries paid to corporation officials.

Patterson emphasized these swollen salaries again and again. He said that increases in corporation salaries from $5,000 to $50,000 were a "very common thing." "We find salaries going up from $5,000 and $10,000 to $100,000," he said, "and the men who get them think they are worth it. But I say the soldiers are serving for $50 a month. If that be demagoguery, make the most of it. I don't think we need to allow such salaries. A man has to be a whale of a good man to be worth that much."

Randolph Paul, general counsel of the Treasury, told the committee an almost equally sensational story without breaking into the headlines. Paul reported that the corporations in war work were making this year the unheard-of profit of $8.7 billion after all taxes were paid. Since some companies losing money were included, profits of the money makers would be over $10 billion. This figure, only slightly higher than that put out by the conservative Department of Commerce, is more than double what the corporations were making before the war, more than they would have made in the fabulous year of 1929 if they had been forgiven all federal taxes, and far more than they made in the best year of the last war.

Corporation profits, after taxes, were estimated by Paul at $24 billion for the three years 1941, 1942, and 1943. This compares with about $4 billion for 1939, the last year of peace in Europe. His figures disclosed how corporations are able to realize such huge profits in the face of a 90 per cent excess-profits tax. They do it by pushing up profits faster than taxes, so that their taxes—normal as well as war taxes—are passed on to the government and the public in the sale of their products. This year they will have pushed their profits before taxes up to the record-breaking peak of $22 billion, or four times what they were in 1939. That is the measure of what corporations have done to raise the cost of living through inflation. Profits of some corporations have multiplied ten, twenty, even one hundred times.

Several of industry's witnesses before the committee frankly admitted that they were passing on their taxes to the government by raising their bids on war contracts to cover their income and excess-profits taxes. They seemed surprised that anyone should think they were going to pay income taxes out of profits. Some of the Republicans on the committee agreed that this was a preposterous idea.

Paul's figures also showed how corporations have concealed their vast war profits—so that even their stockholders don't realize how much they are making—by pursuing a conservative dividend policy. Corporations dividends are running only slightly higher than in 1939 and are actually lower than in 1936 and 1937. Only about half the profits are being paid out in dividends; undistributed profits for 1941-43, inclusive, are estimated at almost $12 billion. This, however, is a deceptively low figure since it includes the companies losing money. The profit-making corporations will have accumulated $16 billion in the three years. The Securities and Exchange Commission recently reported that United States corporations have $33 billion in quick, liquid assets.

From the standpoint of the public this conservative dividend policy is wise because it helps to control inflation and provide post-war reserves. It is still wiser from the standpoint of the companies: it fools the public, and if the profits are distributed after the war instead of now, they may be subject to lower individual income taxes.

The contention of Patterson and Paul that war contractors are making too much was fully substantiated by the testimony of the big business men who are administering the renegotiation law. The Office of Price Administration has recently provided similar evidence on the profits of consumer industries. Its studies have shown that meat packers and manufacturers of hosiery for women have multiplied their profits many times while they have been complaining about price ceilings and the grade labeling that makes ceilings effective.

Industry failed to make a case for repeal of the renegotiation law. Although its stories of poverty were sympathetically received by the Republicans on the com-

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mittee and by one or two of the Democrats, every witness who was forced by more skeptical committee members to compare his war with his peace-time profits revealed that he was making many times what he did before other men began to give their lives for their country. The committee turned down the repeal demand but is still considering amendments that might gut the law. The evidence, however, indicated that, instead of being weakened, the law should if possible be strengthened, because even a 90 per cent tax cannot recover excessive profits if corporations are allowed to make too much before the taxes are applied. For the same reason, price control needs to be much stiffer.

The facts about war profits revealed at the hearings are of even greater value in connection with the tax problems now confronting Congress. Congressmen are talking as if it were impossible to raise the $12 billion the Administration needs to finance the war without taking it from the pockets of men and women who have not enough to live on decently. The figures presented by Paul and Patterson indicate that several of those billions could be taken from the corporations without starving anyone —even the much-talked-about widows and orphans who live on their dividends.

Although the excess-profits rate is already 90 per cent, there is room for higher rates on normal corporate profits. The Treasury last year wanted 50 or 55 per cent, but Congress refused to go above 40 per cent, and wrote a top limit of 80 per cent on the taxes that could be applied to a corporation, regardless of how excessive its profits might be. The post-war refund should be applied to normal taxes instead of excess-profits taxes. The companies which face trouble after the war are the ones which have not shared in the fat war profits. All the benefits so far have been for the profiteers. Corporations which have had excessive profits during the war should not be the only ones to be allowed post-war refunds.

But aside from raising rates, there are other ways to tighten up the taxes on corporations. Many of them have found wide loopholes in the tax laws through which they can squeeze their excessive profits without sharing them with the government. One of these loopholes is the formula for computing excess profits, which the corporations virtually wrote themselves. It conveniently permits them to choose the easiest of two lenient methods. They can measure them either by their normal peace-time profits, no matter how excessive these may have been, or by their invested capital, in which they can include capital long since lost and almost forgotten.

The corporations are doing a lot of talking about the risks they take. But most workers and farmers would gladly pay more taxes in return for the guaranty—already provided for the war profiteers—of a normal profit for two years after the war.

In the Wind

ON OCTOBER 10 the Associated Press will send to its member papers a feature story to the effect that the remaining kings and royal houses of Europe have always opposed totalitarianism.

A HANDBILL urging the election of Edward A. Carey as mayor of Detroit explains the race riots thus: "The high prices charged by the Jewish merchants of Hastings and Antoine streets were responsible for the unrest we find amongst the colored people. . . . There is no reason why the mayor of a large city should confine himself to local affairs, if his ideas will benefit the nation at large."

BOTH THE OWI and the State Department have disclaimed jurisdiction over the broadcasts of the United Nations radio station in Algiers. In the resulting confusion supporters of Marshal Badoglio have twice used the station's microphones to present propaganda for the Marshal's regime.

LAST FALL Romeo Booker, president of a local of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, was arrested at Ruleville, Mississippi, for soliciting labor to harvest crops in Florida under government contract. He was released and told to leave the Delta and never return. Now, however, he is back —in jail at Clarksdale, Mississippi. He was arrested by the FBI in Florida on a charge of impersonating a federal officer. The uniform he wore when arrested consisted of army trousers and shirt of World War I vintage, without insignia.

ACCORDING TO the *Wall Street Journal,* General MacArthur's "garrison hat is in the ring" for the Republican Presidential nomination. In this connection political observers have noted a possible link between the general and the Midwestern groups who are promoting his candidacy in the person of Phil La Follette, now a lieutenant-colonel on his staff in Australia. La Follette, ex-governor of Wisconsin and founder of the short-lived National Progressives of America Party, was a leading isolationist until December 7, 1941. He applied for a commission December 8.

FEELER?—*Printers' Ink,* a magazine reflecting the views of big business, reports from "an authoritative source" that the government, after the war, "will not turn its present war plants into industrial production of any kind—that it will lock them up and in due time junk them for whatever they will bring."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Dr. F. Breedvelt, Nazi superintendent of education in Utrecht, explains why so many new school principals are hardly more than boys. Older men "just do not seem to understand the New Order." . . . At a recent meeting of storm troopers in Prague, *Obergruppenführer* Jüttner said, "Germans must not permit a repetition of 1918, when the people snatched the weapons from the soldiers' hands."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*]

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Poland and Russia

BY MARCIN RYLSKI

POLAND and the Soviet Union are the only United Nations with no official diplomatic ties. Following a procedure often observed in time of war, though never before between allies, the Polish government has asked the Australian minister to take charge of Polish interests in Russia. With the Soviet Union playing an increasingly important role in European affairs, Russo-Polish relations have become the dominant problem of Polish politics.

The leaders of the Polish left are in practical agreement with conservative Polish groups on this issue. Indeed, it is a question which transcends the boundaries of parties, as the Foreign Committee of the Polish Socialist Party in London openly acknowledged in a resolution adopted on June 30, 1943: "In the present conflict between Poland and the Soviet Union the attitude of all Polish groups is similar. Any assertion that there is a split between Polish democracy and Polish reaction on this matter represents the interference of foreign elements in Polish internal affairs—and we reject such interference resolutely."

The official policy of the leadership of the Polish labor movement and the Polish Peasant Party in London upholds the integrity of the Polish frontiers of 1939. It denies the Soviet thesis that the eastern portions of Poland, occupied in 1939 by the Red Army, belong to the Soviet Union as integral parts of the Ukrainian, White Russian, and Lithuanian Soviet Republics.

The Soviet and the Polish governments have stated their respective positions many times. It is undeniable that the territories in question—especially if some rectifications of boundaries are made—have Ukrainian and White Russian majorities, the Poles constituting an important minority. But the Polish boundaries established by the peace treaty signed at Riga in 1921, ending the Polish-Russian war, aroused no debate for eighteen years. The Polish government wants to reestablish those boundaries. The Soviet government, however, invoking the right of nations to self-determination, demands that the Ukrainians and White Russians who suffered under Polish rule be allowed to join the Ukrainian and White Russian Soviet Republics. It bases its case on plebiscites conducted in these regions in October, 1939—plebiscites not recognized by the Polish and other Allied governments.

That either government can prevail upon the other to yield is more than doubtful. The Soviet Union, elated by its military victories and inspired by a growing nationalism, will not abandon its program voluntarily. Since this is so, the logical course for Polish groups which make the reestablishment of the frontiers of 1939 their basic claim is to seek the aid of external forces capable of *coercing* Russia. Official Polish policy is therefore trying to win the support of the Anglo-Saxon allies for its program. It represents Russia's demands on Poland as part of a larger desire to dominate all Europe and sections of Asia. Poland is the test case, it affirms, and any concessions to Stalin on this question, any attempt to "appease" him, would only cause him to formulate new demands.

All Polish plans for the post-war organization of Europe, particularly of Central-Eastern Europe, have the same starting point: Poland is always conceived of as it was in 1939, with the military force of any federation made up of Poland and its neighbors unalterably opposed to the Soviets. Official Polish policy is based on the consolidation of the United Nations alliance, under Anglo-American leadership, without or even against Russia. It expects that Russia will emerge from the war in a seriously weakened condition, and that it will be obliged, in order to obtain foreign help, to make certain political concessions, among them the recognition of the Polish claims. Another hope—which appears rather fantastic at the present moment—is that the Allies will enter Poland before the Russians and restore Poland to its boundaries of 1939 under the direction of the Polish government in London, and that Russia will then have to accept the *fait accompli*.

The Russian issue is considered so all-important by the Foreign Committee of the Polish Socialist Party—and the majority of other Polish political groups in London and the United States agree—that in the above-mentioned resolution of June 30 "all those who on this fundamental question have a different opinion" are declared to have "placed themselves outside the Polish Socialist Party." The declaration applies particularly to a group of Polish democrats and Socialists in the United States whose outstanding representative is Oscar Lange, professor of economics at the University of Chicago. With twenty-nine other well-known Polish democrats Professor Lange signed an "Appeal to Reason" opposing the policy of the Polish government in exile. Among the signers were Julian Tuwim, the modern Polish poet; Arthur Szyk, the cartoonist and painter; Professor Karpinski of the University of Michigan; Dr. Ossowski, president of the

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American Slav Congress of Michigan; Jerzy Splawa Neyman of the University of California; S. Z. Stachowicz, former officer of the Polish army; and many Polish-American political and union leaders.

On August 6 the London *Tribune* published a letter from Edward Puhacz, who spoke for a group of Polish émigrés in Great Britain. This group, the letter said, were "greatly perturbed" by the anti-democratic policy of the Polish government in exile, a policy which they believed to be "detrimental to the interests of Poland and the war effort." The writer cited the scarcity of volunteers for the Polish army as indicative of the lack of confidence in the present government. "In 1918, 28,800 Poles from North America volunteered for the Polish army formed on French soil; the corresponding figure for this war is 600. As against this, 17.5 per cent of the volunteers for the United States army are of Polish nationality. In Great Britain, of 1,900 Poles subject to call, only 140 responded to the notice of the Polish consul general; the rest chose the British armed forces."

In the view of these democratic "oppositional" groups, close cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union are prerequisites to the restoration and maintenance of Polish national independence, in fact, to Polish national existence. Situated between Germany and Russia, Poland cannot fight against both. The Polish nation can win freedom from Germany only with the help of the Russian army. There is no basic antagonism between the interests of Russia and Poland, just as there are no irreconcilable differences between Russia and the Anglo-Saxon powers. The reconstruction of Poland is part of the general reconstruction of Europe, which demands the sincere collaboration of all the United Nations. Poland's interest lies in strengthening the cooperation of the United States, Great Britain, and Soviet Russia, not in playing upon their differences, as the Polish government in London does.

Responsibility for the Polish-Russian crisis, according to the "opposition," rests primarily with the Polish government in exile. Under the pressure of reactionary elements in the emigration, it has abandoned the policy of collaboration with Russia inaugurated by the late General Sikorski and adopted an outspoken anti-Russian line. "The activities of the press, of the information services, and of the diplomatic representatives of the government in exile have thwarted General Sikorski's personal efforts," writes Professor Lange. "Having signed an agreement and an alliance with the Soviet government, General Sikorski was unable to deliver the goods."

As for the eastern boundaries of Poland, the democratic opposition believes that the question should be settled amicably with the Soviet Union in a way that would safeguard the interests of the Ukrainians and White Russians as well as those of the Polish and Jewish minorities living in the disputed territories. The essential condition of a settlement is that no populations be kept within the boundaries of a Polish state against their will. Thus the democratic principle of self-determination is opposed to the legalistic formula of the Polish government, which bases its demand on the Riga treaty. Since the Ukrainian and White Russian populations were, in the main, dissatisfied with Polish rule, this position implies the renunciation of territories with a non-Polish majority. Rectifications of frontiers are considered desirable and possible, but they can be accomplished only if the foundation has been laid for harmonious Polish-Russian relations, similar to those between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. The "opposition" favors rapprochement with Czechoslovakia and accuses the Polish government of having aroused antagonism between the two Slav nations.

Besides New York and London the Polish political emigration has a third center in Moscow. The Union of Polish Patriots organized there a few months ago by elements from various political camps—its leaders include a few Polish Communists—takes a position on Poland's foreign policy similar to that of the oppositional democratic groups in this country. Its ideological declaration states that while Poland wishes to unite all Polish territory within the Polish state, it does not want one square inch of Ukrainian or White Russian land.

The factor that must determine Polish-Russian relations and therefore the future of Poland is not the feelings and ideas of Polish refugees in Great Britain, the United States, or Soviet Russia, of Polish-Americans, or even of the Polish government in exile or the leaders of pre-war parties, but the attitude of the Polish people in their own land. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to obtain exact information about this. There is no open political life in occupied Poland, no elections or Gallup polls. The sentiments of the Polish people are actively expressed only in the heroic and unconquerable underground, which has carried on the fight for liberation for more than four years. The Polish government in exile has frequently declared that its policy is supported by the illegal movement in Poland, that there is complete agreement between the political leaders in London and their friends in Poland. But certain underground organizations in Poland reject the policy of the Polish government and hold a position similar to that of the opposition. Like the Polish emigration, the Polish underground is divided, and bitter discussions, even fights, have occurred between the representatives of the various groups. No one can say who represents the majority of the population. Attempts to hide this division by asserting the complete unanimity of the Poles or by maintaining that the opponents of official policy are agents of foreign powers will not change the situation. The Poles of the Kosciuszko Division in the Soviet Union, like others

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who oppose the foreign policy of the Polish government, are just as genuine Poles as their compatriots in the Polish army in Great Britain and the Middle East, or the elements supporting the Polish government in exile.

Political opinion in Poland is not fixed. It is in process of developing and is slowly moving toward expression. The attitude of the Polish masses is being forged by the struggle for liberation from the German oppressor. At the moment of victory they will perceive the paths open to them and make their choice. This choice will decide the future of Poland.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

SOME time will pass before we know what actually took place on the Russian front in these past weeks. Were the Germans defeated again and again in a gigantic series of battles? Or did they voluntarily carry out a just as gigantic continuous retreat—and if so, why?

Meanwhile one fact is certain: all during this time the situation has been described to the German public in a way that is without precedent. It has never been said that the retreat would soon be stopped; not even the hope that it would be has ever been expressed. It has never been suggested that somewhere the terrain might offer a chance of digging in. In fact, any consideration of whether the troops might soon be able to make a halt has been rigorously excluded. As the front drew nearer to the Dnieper, the newspapers and radios of the whole world discussed whether the Germans would take their stand behind it. Not so the German newspapers and radios. The defensive possibilities of the wide river have not been mentioned. German propaganda has spoken of the awful losses of the Russians, but for weeks it has suppressed every reference to a conceivable end of the retreat. The conclusion is unavoidable that the German leadership during all this time has looked forward to a long unbroken withdrawal as an absolute certainty.

Since July the Free German Committee in Moscow—in conjunction lately with the affiliated Generals' and Officers' Committee—has been addressing Germans in the Reich by radio. What does it say to them? An authoritative analysis of all the material broadcast up to the middle of September was recently undertaken. Its results are interesting.

Thirty-six per cent of the propaganda items can be described as mere generalities: Germans were told that they and the Reich would be saved; that the new Germany would be "free, independent, united, a juster and better place." The rest were only slightly more specific. Items addressed to labor were the most numerous: 11 per cent guaranteed the eight-hour day, adequate social security, and the like; 9 per cent promised the destruction of the big trusts. The next largest number were directed to middle-class listeners: 5 per cent proclaimed that the working class should not impose its special interests on the rest of the population; 6 per cent guaranteed the restoration of legal justice.

Numerous other topics made sporadic appearances. References to each of the following formed about 3 per cent of the material—a democratic government, a true national government, an "honorable ending" of the war, freedom of religion, protection for the "seduced" members of the Nazi Party. Among the items in the 2 per cent group the most important were freedom of press and speech, restoration of property to its rightful owners, equality before the law, a genuine German culture, and retention of their jobs by civil servants. About 1 per cent of the material was devoted to freedom of trade, freedom of assembly, continuation of the German armed forces, punishment of the war criminals and of guilty Nazis.

"Freiburg Youth," cried *Kreisleiter* Fritsch at a meeting on September 11, "you are assembled to pledge loyalty to the Führer. German youth must set a historic example at this time, when treachery is rearing its head. And we do not refer merely to the conduct of Victor Emmanuel and Badoglio but also to that of traitors now appearing in various guises among our own people."

"The saboteurs of morale at home," said the *Gauleiter* of Weser-Ems on September 9, "may in the future meditate behind bars whether it is right to deceive millions of decent, industrious Germans with false reports and unscrupulous gossip."

These remarks strike the tone of a campaign that is being carried on through meetings held all over Germany. And the same emphasis is found in an increasing flood of newspaper articles. But the phrase "meditate behind bars" is an understatement. There is a rising tide of death sentences and executions for "spreading mendacious reports," for "having tried to undermine the confidence of a young woman by malevolent lies and exaggerations," and for similar offenses.

Still worse things, however, must be going on without interference from the law or the courts. For in an arresting article that appeared in the newspapers in mid-September State Secretary Rothenberger of the Ministry of Justice admitted that even the courts and judges were not functioning satisfactorily. "It is no secret," he said, "that the German judiciary has not succeeded in winning the confidence of the Führer and the party." Therefore the judiciary has had to be shoved somewhat into the background. The State Secretary found this justifiable and natural: "The present outcry about lawlessness, arbitrary methods, legal insecurity, etc., is due to a lack of understanding of the political situation."

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Reflection

Looking in time's long mirror
What image do you see?
One holding a golden basin
For the hands of authority.
We are haunted by the Roman
Face, ominous and tired,
As by the womanish gesture
Of one who has desired
To be free of choice: a burden
Too heavy for old men.
The image in the mirror
Reveals itself again.
The silent governor washes
One hand with the other hand.
The soldiers wait in silence,
And humble as the sand.
We stare on that repeated
Scene till our eyeballs ache.
Will a sandstorm rise? Will the mirror
Crack? Will the image break?

BABETTE DEUTSCH

On the Creative Imagination

BY ROLFE HUMPHRIES

THE common belief is that the artist's imagination is a hectic gift, not a constant presence; that it comes and goes, in unpredictable ways, and that, when it is gone, it leaves its sometime host in a wretched and barren state, with nothing to do but wait, pray, and suffer, until its return. This belief, I think, is false; the truth is that for those blessed, or cursed, with its possession, imagination is *always there, and always working.* It is always working; but it works in two different ways; and in one of these two ways it also works doubly, either forward or backward, outward or inward, directly or in reverse.

To begin with, the imagination can work *passively*—taking in, not giving out; receiving, storing, assimilating, combining, preparing to distribute, sensations and impressions. The period may be likened to that in which a battery is charging. It is not a dead period, though the longer it lasts, the more it may seem so, and to submit to the process requires great understanding and patience. It may be as prolonged as Jacob's bondage for Rachel, and the energy acquired during a long time may be discharged in a very short one, in a brief and almost unbelievable storm of brightness, like that in which Rilke wrote down the Duinese elegies and the Sonnets to Orpheus.

The converse of this state occurs when the stored-up current of energy is actively discharged directly and outward in valid and viable works of art. But the flow of creative imagination can operate, also, in the reverse direction; and its operation, under these circumstances, is much less clearly understood. I am not too sure of the right terminology for the metaphor, but I suggest that *reversed polarity* may describe this discharge of energy in the wrong direction, inward, not outward; toward, rather than away from, the individual: the stream backs up, instead of flowing normally. The creative imagination then becomes subjective rather than objective; egocentric rather than ecstatic (Shelley said that poetry was the opposite of egotism); fantastic rather than real; secretive rather than given to communication. This may, if we are simple-minded enough, if our genius is sufficiently comic, result in a harmless and happy state, as described, for example, by James Thurber in "The Secret Life of Walter Mitty." But for one beatific neurosis, there are a thousand—the figure is inexact—malevolent and destructive ones. More often than not, the artist's tragic sense of life combines with his critical standards to inhibit wishful-thinking fantasies; he is more apt to err in the direction of anxiety, doubt, despair, apprehension, and dread. This tragic sense of life, which might create great characters and heroic action if the current were going the right way, now, with it flowing inward, fails into pathetic fantasies, with their author always in the role and poses of the helpless victim. *Hinc illae lacrimae*—of jealousy, hatred, suspicion, worry, self-pity; we are imposed on, we are persecuted, or we are guilty. And the worst of it is that while the imagination is *always working,* it works, now, with such power, its artistry is so subtle, that the subject, never suspecting its presence, is convinced, first, that his imagination has left him for good—or evil—and, second, that the fantasies he is creating are entirely actual and real. Theologians, describing this state, might say that Satan has taken your soul from God; clearly, you are not in a state of grace, or even in a position to believe that a state of grace is possible.

Now there are men—"autists" would describe them better than "artists"—through whom this current can flow with little resistance; it goes through them, and they deflect it enough to get it flowing circular wise, so that it emerges in an apparently outward direction. They have not, however, produced works of art—though they may think they have—but, in most cases, masterpieces of self-expression, more or less unconscious. (These men are usually great haters of technical excellence; they claim that its study inhibits their "inspiration.") It is extraordinary, the extent to which these masterpieces are mistaken, by critics, for works of art—the confusion would still exist, I think, even if it were not confounded by the commodity value of these performances. (What review of literature, what weekly book supplement, for example, is not really a trade journal?) Some of the admiration for this work is legitimate in that it is directed, not to the product, but to the manifest energy; but this energy is controlling, not controlled by, its host; it is compulsive, not compelled. Still, however little health there is

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in it, we are impressed, and cry out: *Deus, ecce Deus!* But the god is Dionysus, not Apollo. (And, by the way, how wise were the Greeks in making the latter lord not only of art but also of healing!) Most of the poems of Robinson Jeffers, the plays of Eugene O'Neill, the novels—or is it novel?—of Thomas Wolfe, belong, I think, in this category. And below this level we can proceed all the way down from the third-rate autobiographical novels, the weird and howling music, the fetal and fecal surrealist paintings, to the murder-per-page detective stories, the pornography of the comic strips, and the genteel verses that people are always writing to the Sunday *Times* to inquire about.

As distinguished from these we have the minor artists. Of them the worst that may be said is that they are deficient in energy. I do not think this is true; they possess, rather, to an almost hypersensitive degree, scrupulous and fastidious critical taste. They can make the distinction between fantasy and art; is this what people were trying to say, in their vague, romantic way, a hundred or so years ago, when they condemned fancy and exalted imagination? The minor artists know that stuff that comes too easy is never any good. They are constantly striving for technical improvement, and readily draw down on their heads the ire and ignorance of those who say they are more concerned with form than with content. A lie, of course, for which, if there is any just God, a lot of damned souls will fry in hell forever. These minor artists, also, know better than to repeat themselves. Their production, while scant, is of consistently high quality. Their work is durable. The penalty they must pay is that of enforced silence; and of enduring, in their personal lives, the backing-up, the reversed polarity, of the creative current. The struggles of a Housman or a Hopkins testify to the agony of spirit they must abide. Whether they can learn to control the current, to reverse its direction, is problematical. It might be possible: Rilke hinted at the possession of a secret when he said that the moment of inspiration must not be waited for, but must be summoned and seized; but he was most discreet as to *how* it might be summoned, and that, perhaps, is something everyone has to find out for himself. The beginning of wisdom, for this kind of artist, might be to understand, in these periods of difficulty and trouble, what is happening, and that his sufferings testify not to the absence but to the presence of his genius. The inane never suffer. Your Furies are your well-wishers, if you will face them and hang on to them in all their protean forms, and not let them harry you down the nights and down the years.

It must not be supposed that the great artist suffers less from devious phantoms and horrid apparitions; on the contrary. His sensitivity is so exquisite, his capacity for experience so tremendous, that his sufferings must be almost godlike—*Can ye drink of the cup that I drink of?* But the great artist, though even he may not be able to command the current to flow as he wills, can take it, and he can use it, greatly. The autists, under compulsion, may do more; the minor artists, under restriction, may do as well, if not as much: the great artist combines quality and quantity and transcends both. His tragic sense of life comes out with gaiety transfiguring all that dread; he is profound but never gloomy. From the middle road of our life, from the dark wood, Dante came through the Inferno to the high vision of the love that moves the sun and other stars. *Inferna tetigit possit ut supera assequi.* The personal, with the great artist, becomes the universal.

> Slipping in blood, by his own hand, through pride,
> Hamlet, Othello, Coriolanus, fall:
> Upon his bed, however, Shakespeare died,
> Having endured them all.

Two Revolutions in Plowing

THE AMERICAN LAND: ITS HISTORY AND ITS USES. By William R. Van Dersal. Oxford University Press. $3.75.

PLOWMAN'S FOLLY. By Edward H. Faulkner. The University of Oklahoma Press. $2.

THE first of these books makes record of the fact that the straight furrow is out of date in American agriculture. The second prophesies a complete abolition of the sort of plow which, on the official seal of our Department of Agriculture, has typified the march of white agriculture in this land.

History, Dr. Van Dersal says, may be read on the face of the land in the changing forms of fields and crops. In the recent widespread swing from straight furrows on rectangular fields to "a broad and subtle handling of slope and soil, sweeping curves and winding terraces, and fields fitted at long last to the rounded rolling contours of the land," he sees a revolution in our basic farm practices under way. Thomas Jefferson advocated this method of "horizontal plowing" as a means of making each furrow a small dam or terrace to halt running water and refresh the crop. And the Sage of Monticello, viewing his own acres, long ago, added that "nothing exceeds in beauty" the design of the contoured fields.

Contour tillage did not catch on at the time, but another of Jefferson's agricultural notions—a turning plow, with a twisted mold-board mathematically calculated to turn the furrow completely over with the least draft and strain—did catch on, mightily. Lecturing recently at the Cosmos Club in Washington, M. L. Wilson, national director of agricultural extension, produced the specifications and a model of the Jefferson moldboard to show how nearly exactly it was the plow in front of the shock of corn on the department's seal today.

I thought of this, driving south through Virginia last month. In a summer dry and hot beyond that of any year since 1817, when Jefferson was alive, I could not help noticing, as Faulkner notes, that the untilled roadside plants were flourishing whereas the "cultivated" fields beyond looked baked out, burned out, farmed out; bleak, thin. An engineer named Arthur Mason observed the same difference between the native grass rims of the Illinois Central right of way and plowed corn land beyond, early in this century. It is something every farmer will have noticed, and every agricultural college worker. But it took this maverick ex-county agent, Faulkner, of Ohio, to see what constant turning of the topsoil, and neat burial of all organic residue from six to ten inches down, can do toward thinning the soil and killing its productivity.

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It is plainly, as he argues, against nature. You see nothing like it in woodland or in native meadows. There the organic residue is worked in from the top into the topsoil, and the soil tends to be absorptive of rain, mellow and friable. Erosion is not, as Faulkner says it is, completely stopped by native cover, or by imitating native cover with "trashy" surface manipulation of crop residues. There must have been some erosion under undisturbed native cover to make the primitive Missouri River muddy and to mold all the configurations of our land. But under natural conditions, probably, accelerated erosion is so diminished by natural cover that man can adjust himself to the change and never feel the difference in a lifetime. That seldom is true of plowed land.

In presenting his experiments and arguments for disk-harrowing rather than for moldboard preparation of the seedbed Faulkner persuades me, at least, that his method, wherever it can be used, would greatly decrease field erosion and probably build land up in fertility even as it is being cropped. No book I recall in thirty years of agricultural reading has aroused such a furor; and this rejoices me. It happens I knew this Faulkner when he had just begun his war against our sainted moldboard plow, twenty years ago. It seemed to me to stand to reason that the moldboard plow is a blunt instrument of major surgery, turning and rending a living body, soil, once a year, or once every two or three years. It stands to reason that a healthy soil cannot go through that many major operations without becoming devitalized. I do not believe, as Faulkner does, that by doing away with this major operation we can entirely dispense with commercial fertilizers, insecticides, and the plague of weeds. But the methods he indicates will certainly make less inevitable our present practice of thinning soil down to subsoil; grinding, whacking, and washing the humus out of it; then using the thinned and deadened residue as a sort of feeding trough for mineral powders, hauled in and spread on the wasting earth to nourish plants.

Dr. Van Dersal's book is urbanely and pleasantly written. It is as full of astonishing information as an old-time farmers' almanac. Mr. Faulkner's briefer work is contentious, opinionated, mocking, and not a little grim. Small wonder. The orthodox agriculturists who now dismiss or belittle his findings as those of a man who did not have the government and all its vast agricultural experimental funds behind him are at one with those who forced Faulkner out of professional agricultural work, to pay for his own experiments by selling insurance, for a while. Mr. Faulkner is sharp in what he has to say but never pompous or rude.

Those who would follow him have quite a fight ahead. I have just been looking through the latest issue of the *Southern Planter,* published in Richmond. Three of the advertisements show farmers plowing straight furrows right up the hillside in the old calamitous way. And in a clubby war-time morale-builder paid for by the Oliver Chilled Plow Company, behold this bent old farmer practically crying over his faithful steel sodbuster, addressing it as "Ollie," and declaring: "I like and respect you for the kind of plowing you do. When those Raydex bases of yours turn over the soil, there's no big air space underneath and the trash is buried deep underground. They didn't name you Plow Master for nothing."

RUSSELL LORD

War Criminals

THE DAY OF RECKONING. By Max Radin. Alfred A. Knopf. $1.75.

GOVERNMENTS of the United Nations have pledged the prosecution of war criminals; recently the American Bar Association declared that the "trial of war criminals should have as its primary purpose the vindication of the rule of law"; and former President Hoover and Hugh Gibson warn that "a muddled conception of international law must not be used as a shield to protect people from punishment for their crimes."

But international law so far has not settled the problem under what law and in which courts war criminals can be tried. Article 228 of the Versailles treaty authorized the Allies to bring violators of the laws and customs of war before military tribunals. Later the International Law Association elaborated a Statute for an International Court of Criminal Justice, but nothing came of this suggestion. Professor Radin's imagination has created an Extraordinary Tribunal, presided over by an Irish colonel. This tribunal tries Hitler and six of his gang leaders in a courtroom in Luxembourg for the murder of one Frenchman, one Czechoslovak, and one Russian victim. After the proceedings, in which the defendants remain mum and the counsel for the defense talks a lot of nonsense, the prisoners are duly sentenced to death. They are executed by the administration of cyanide gas because hanging would obviously be too good for them. We are told that the tribunal "claims powers that override the textbook doctrines of international law" and is bound only by "reason and justice."

But this is exactly what the Nazis did, except that they called their "reason and justice" *Volksempfinden,* or racial perception. Mr. Radin's tribunal even refuses to recognize the "rule against ex post facto laws" as the Magna Charta of criminals. The author is apparently unaware that it was not "one of their [that is, Nazi] criminologists" who coined this phrase but Professor Franz von Liszt, a great and international-minded scholar who was anxious to stress the importance of law as the safeguard of personal liberty to which even criminals have been entitled since the great legal revolution of the eighteenth century fought by Voltaire, Beccaria, and Montesquieu.

Professor Radin emphasizes the point that the charge against the defendants is not a political crime or a violation of international law but murder pure and simple. If so, since the crimes have been committed in France, Czechoslovakia, and Russia, there is no reason why the Allied military authorities should not hand the defendants over to the competent courts in those countries. In trying Nazi criminals those courts are not likely to be unduly lenient.

Even more unsatisfactory than the solution of the jurisdictional problem is the suggestion that while the criminals should be held responsible symbolically for three token murders, "other agents . . . of an inferior class" shall go free, leaving other crimes unpunished. If law has been, indeed, restored, justice must not pick one or another of the criminals but must prosecute all the principals and accessories. It is true Hitler can be executed only once, but that is exactly why the question arises whether legal proceedings

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are really an adequate way of dealing with all the monstrous horrors, savageries, and cruelties which the Nazis have perpetrated.

For lack of a more appropriate expression we may metaphorically term these atrocities crimes calling for punishment. But to take this term in its technical sense would result in the misrepresentation of legal principles which are much too important to human society to be discredited by their misuse for the sake of expediency. Any student of the history of laws knows that punishment is sublimated revenge, but retribution is still its essential element, designed to satisfy the more or less subconscious craving of the victim and of the public for revenge. Is it conceivable that after four years of this dreadful nightmare the relatives of the thousands of victims of the Nazi terror would feel their sense of justice satisfied by the reckoning which Professor Radin suggests?

There is no need to brood over this dilemma. The people of Germany and of all the Nazi-ridden countries are likely to find a more practical and more satisfactory solution than those legalistic niceties of which the American journalists who attend the imaginary trial make fun. Addressing the audience, the Minister of Justice of Luxembourg states that "the members of the tribunal are too distinguished to be asked to play a role in a comedy." Yet they do. This tragicomedy will at best gratify those business men who are scared to death by the inevitable revolution in the Axis countries which might defer the return to "normalcy."

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Fiction in Review

IN WRITING last week about Eudora Welty's latest volume of short stories I said that somewhere between Chekhov and Katherine Mansfield the short story had got off its trolley, and I suggested that it was Miss Mansfield who was in large part responsible for the exaggerated subjectivity which has so variously corrupted modern short fiction. The line of descent from Miss Mansfield to Miss Welty may not always be easy to trace: the family resemblance is more a matter of the carriage of the head than of feature for feature. But in a writer like Sylvia Townsend Warner the connection can be seen more readily. Miss Warner is less talented perhaps, and less ambitious, than Miss Welty, but she is an accomplished practitioner of her craft and more typical of her literary generation. Twenty-eight of her stories, many of them familiar from having appeared in the *New Yorker*, have been gathered in "A Garland of Straw" (Viking, $2.50). They are an interesting sampling of the thin brew of sensibility which has been so largely our nourishment in English and American short fiction since Miss Mansfield separated the flesh from the bone of Chekhov.

I use the word sensibility in its frankly pejorative connotation; obviously, sensibility under control is as necessary to a writer as an ear to a musician. But just as, in the case of Miss Welty, a too great subjectivity manifests itself in too great a preoccupation with fine prose, in Miss Warner a too great subjectivity manifests itself in an overdependence upon her private and special awarenesses. This is what I mean by sensibility, the delusion that an author's fugitive insights and sensitivities and symbolical observations will carry, in a piece of fiction, the full weight with which they are charged in the writer's own experience. They never do. Actually, they reduce the stature of a story to the size of the smallest elements that compose it—and this despite the fact that there is always implicit, in over-subjective writing, an author's emotion of superiority to his environment and his fellowman. I seem to recall that too many of Miss Mansfield's stories were stories of pity; although she would always have wished to project her sensibility into a larger realm of meaning, she never succeeded, even in her most objective efforts, in raising her stories out of the diary-like context in which they were conceived. The first modern writer to look for the whole of salvation in her pride of perception, Katherine Mansfield perpetuated a mood for the short story from which we have to turn back to Chekhov to remember that there is nothing in the story form itself which demands the substitution of the fragmentary and the allusive for the broadly conceived and fully stated.

Sylvia Townsend Warner lives in a more politically conscious world than Miss Mansfield. Many of her stories are concerned with politics, war, and "issues"; one has the impression, however, that the bigger the issue the smaller and more personal the symbol by which Miss Warner communicates her indignation, and that the cause itself is actually secondary to the triumphant play of Miss Warner's creativity about it. For instance, a story called Apprentice, in intent one of the serious stories in "A Garland of Straw," deals with the way Nazism can corrupt people. Apprentice is set in occupied Poland and is the story of a little girl who lives under the protection of a German *Gauleiter*. In the midst of starvation Lili has plenty to eat, and she elaborates a wonderful game in which, standing above the public road, she dangles bits of food on a string for the starving passersby to jump for. But one young Polish boy resists her temptations, and Lili becomes maddened with the need to break his independent spirit. On a particularly cold day she dangles a cinnamon bun before the boy; he is so hungry that he jumps for it, and Lili jerks the string out of his reach just as the boy falls dead of cold and hunger. Thinking, "It must be really terrible to die like that," Lili pulls up the bun and eats it.

Well, a story like this, it seems to me, defeats its purpose. Primarily concerned to assert the rightness of her own feelings, Miss Warner luxuriates in her scorn of the child Lili; in consequence, Lili becomes an incredible little monster instead of a credible little human being. And in consequence of Lili's monstrosity, Miss Warner's whole indictment of Nazism exposes itself as a contrivance.

Of course, not all Miss Warner's stories show such a flagrant discrepancy between purpose and method. Some are merely sketches or anecdotes (The Trumpet Shall Sound, To Cool the Air); some are frankly fragmentary (Rainbow Villa, Setteragic On). But the least of them mingles with the most ambitious without the reader being aware of a disturbing difference in kind because, having a common point of departure in sensibility, they all sacrifice permanent meaningfulness to the fleeting triumphs and self-justifications of the creative moment. Although Miss Warner is willing to

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be far more humanly fallible than Katherine Mansfield would ever have wished to be, and although her prevailing temper is neither ecstatic nor pitying but acidulous, her stories are unmistakably fledglings from "The Dove's Nest."

I have used Miss Warner as an instance of one of the major faults of a whole literary school; in fairness I should also point out that she has a liveliness and flavor which put her in a class quite apart from most of the writers represented in such a collection as Martha Foley's "The Best American Short Stories, 1943" (Houghton Mifflin, $2.75). Miss Foley, still flogging the dead horse of the popular-magazine story over whose grave she should long ago have said her requiescat, illustrates a more "living form of tale-telling" with selections from Vicki Baum, Kay Boyle, Rachel Field, Jesse Stuart, and other such bringers of life to fiction. True, she also includes a typical story by Eudora Welty (Asphodel) and a typical and good story by Delmore Schwartz (An Argument in 1934), which certainly belong in a volume of this kind—even though I very much dislike the Eudora Welty story—and she reprints John Cheever's The Pleasures of Solitude, a very small piece which nevertheless has enough quality and meaning to bear several readings. Perhaps, in other words, no editor could have done better with the available material. But I could wish that Miss Foley were herself less satisfied with it.

"The Night of the Summer Solstice and Other Stories of the Russian War" (Holt, $2.50) is Mark Van Doren's selection of seven contemporary Soviet authors in representative short fiction dealing with war themes. I suppose it would be hard to find a volume of stories farther removed from the subjectivism I have been describing in American and English fiction; in fact, these reports of the fighting in Russia are so unmarked by the personalities of their individual authors that any one of them might have been written by the author of any other. But although there may be a momentary relief in such impersonality, it is only for the moment: then we realize that excess in the direction of self-effacement is just as unfruitful as excess in the direction of self-expression. These stories do record the misery and courage of the Russian struggle, but, at least aesthetically, they belong in the category of Soviet poster art rather than in the great tradition of the Russian short story.

DIANA TRILLING

CONTRIBUTORS

NATHAN ROBERTSON has been a reporter for the Washington *Times* and the Washington bureaus of the United Press, the Associated Press, and *PM*. In 1938 he was counsel for the Coal Commission, and in 1939 assistant information director of the Farm Security Administration.

MARCIN RYLSKI is the pseudonym of a Polish journalist with opportunities to be exceptionally well informed about current Polish politics.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES is the author of "Out of the Jewel," a book of poems. He has translated the poems of García Lorca.

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ART

SOMETHING of the harmony of the original white square of canvas should be restored in the finished painting. But harmony a thousand times more intense, because it is the result of the successful resolution of a difficult struggle. The simplest way almost of accounting for a great work of art is to say that it is a thing possessing simultaneously the maximum of diversity and the maximum of unity possible to that diversity. For lack of the first the new painting by Mondrian called "New York Boogie Woogie," now on view at the Museum of Modern Art with several other new acquisitions, is, for all its sudden originality, something a little less than a masterpiece. The checkered lines of orange squares produce a staccato rhythm—signifying jazz—too easily contained by the square pattern and white ground of the picture. At hardly any point does the rhythm threaten to break out of and unbalance this pattern enough to justify the latter's final triumph. There is resolution, but of an easy struggle.

"New York Boogie Woogie" is a radical step forward in Mondrian's evolution, which since his arrival in this country and to this point has been concerned mainly with the widening of his color spectrum. Now not only have new and for the first time slightly impure colors been introduced, but the hitherto immutable elements of Mondrian's space composition have begun to break up: the straight black, almost incised, lines into parti-colored chains of squares, and the great dominating rectangles into smaller rectangles and squares of contrasting colors. The artist has not yet possessed himself fully of these new configurations, not yet rendered them controllable to his total purpose, but the gamble is well worth taking. Unless the artist die to the successes of his old work he cannot live in his new. Repetition is death. One more thing: the picture at hand suffers from the absence of that very neat and precise mechanical execution that used always to characterize a Mondrian painting. It is either a failure of manual dexterity, a deliberate effort to be a little more fluid, or simply the impression left by the weak yellow and the purple that appear in a Mondrian painting for almost the first time. The picture has a floating, wavering, somehow awkward quality; the color wanders off in directions that I am sure belie the artist's intent. Yet "New York Boogie Woogie" is a remarkable accomplishment, a failure worthy only of a great artist, and its acquisition was more than justified; it was mandatory.

Of the other acquisitions the Matta painting is slightly untypical, has an almost valid surface charm, and is certainly better than those iridescent burlesque-house decorations, style of 1930, he usually paints, which are little more, really, than the comic strips of abstract art. Again, the painting by Masson is one of his better recent ones: turgid and dense, the tone hot but subdued. It has, however, an unpleasant pretentiousness about it. I don't think Masson will ever again turn out work comparable to that he did in the twenties.

The presence of the picture by the Mexican Tamayo evidences, along with that of the Matta and Masson, the extreme sensitivity of the museum to trade winds on Fifty-seventh Street. The museum shows taste in that when it buys the work of inferior artists it at least chooses their best work—untrue here only in the case of Tamayo—but this does not atone for its masochistic fondness for the social and other epigones of the School of Paris.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

DANCE

KATHERINE DUNHAM is an anthropologist-dancer who went to Hollywood, but her current program at the Martin Beck Theater suggests the sequence in reverse. Her "tropical revue" is high-toned hot-stuff, and it goes over big with an audience that gets a kick out of sex brought into the parlor by a dancer who is obviously a lady.

For her dances Miss Dunham has used primitive and folk material from the Pacific, the Caribbean, and North and South America. Now there are three ways in which such material can be presented in the theater: one is to recreate it in as authentic and precise a manner as possible; another is to point up its qualities with appropriate garnishings and accents; a third way is to use it creatively so that the essence of the material is revealed in a complex work of art. To use the first method successfully, utmost fidelity to the original is necessary; for the second the same fidelity is required plus good taste and artistic skill; for the third a high degree of creative ability is essential, such as is revealed, for example, in Nijinska's compelling choreography for Strawinsky's "Les Noces," in which Russian folk themes and customs are developed and harmonized into a major work of art. This type of creative utilization of folk material is never achieved in the Dunham "tropical revue," although it is several times attempted. Nor is the first method, that of faithful reproduction of the original, used. The program relies, for the most part, on the second method, folk material garnished, and very much so. Moreover, the garnishings are frequently inappropriate and lack inherent connection with the material.

The most ambitious and least successful number on the program is the "Rites de Passage" based on rituals of fertility, male puberty, and death. Here, according to the program note, the attempt was made to "capture in abstraction the emotional body of any primitive community and to project this intense, even fearful personal experience, under the important change in status and the reaction of the society through this period." Although the tasteful costumes and simple, beautifully posed opening tableau set the stage for a moving performance, the lack of restraint in the movement, the superimposition of banal routines, and the failure to permit the material to determine its own form produce an opposite result. I liked best the "Bahiana" and "Lady with a Cigar," two fresh, unpretentious pieces that have sparkle and pace—perfect revue numbers.

Miss Dunham and her company are all excellent dancers and they are gorgeously costumed. Outstanding in the group are Sylvilla Fort, Laverne French, Roger Chardieno, and Lavinia Williams. The musical accompaniment leaves much to be desired. At times it is just passable and at other times, as in "Rites de Passage," it is very poor indeed.

VIRGINIA MISHNUN

RECORDS

ROSE BAMPTON began her career with a rich and powerful contralto voice which she later converted into a soprano—with consequences that are to be heard on Victor's September record (11-8466, $1) of *Or sai chi l'onore* and *Non mi dir* from "Don Giovanni." In the quiet opening section of *Non mi dir* and much of the subsequent fast and florid section, which employ the lower range of her voice, it is agreeable but colorless and breathily unconcentrated; in the climactic high notes of this aria

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and in the highly placed declamatory phrases of *Or sai chi l'onore* the voice becomes compressed into a thin shriek. In addition, neither in its agreeable low range nor in its shrieky high range is the voice used with the dramatically expressive inflection which this music requires—the inflection which makes the music so powerful and affecting when Souez sings it in the Glyndebourne Festival recording: as Miss Bampton delivers these great pieces of declamation they are merely pieces of vocalization. And the orchestral comment, which adds its power to that of the singing in the Glyndebourne performance, is perfunctory in style and barely audible on the Bampton record.

Victor's September list also includes Telemann's "Don Quixote" Suite for string orchestra, played by the Arthur Fiedler Sinfonietta (Set 945, $2.50). The performance is adequate and is well recorded except for occasional harshness in the sound of the violins. But the music has little illustrative significance and only slight musical interest: the most that can be said of the sections that are not dull is that they are pleasant. The work is one that might rate rehearsal and a performance or two as a brief novelty on a concert program, but—even in normal times—would not rate permanence on records and the expenditure on orchestra, engineers, plant, labor, and materials involved in recording; and in the present period of shortages of materials, plant, and labor the expenditure is even more questionable.

This may be said also of Beethoven's so-called "Jena" Symphony, of which a good performance by Werner Janssen with the Janssen Symphony of Los Angeles is recorded with marvelous beauty, clarity, and spaciousness of sound, though with occasional slight buzzes (Set 946, $3.50). The work was discovered in the form of manuscript parts —two with Beethoven's name—in the archives of an old concert society in Jena; if he wrote it he did so between 1787 and 1790—that is, between the ages of seventeen and twenty; if there is doubt of his authorship it is because the work not only is dull but hasn't the slightest resemblance to even the earliest of Beethoven's published works; and how little he himself thought of it —if he wrote it—can be inferred from the fact that he, who published everything he could, including some pretty feeble stuff, did not publish this symphony. I can, again, conceive of a conductor putting it on a program once as a curiosity, but not of a record company putting it on records. Mr. Charles O'Connell of Victor has stated "five broad basic reasons" that determine the choice of a work for recording: "First, established public demand. Second, musical importance of the work in question, either from a purely artistic point of view or from a historical viewpoint. Third, the particular ability of a given artist to perform the work. Fourth, our belief in the special appeal of the work . . . even though there is no appreciable demand. Finally, the work . . . [may incorporate] special ideas which we ourselves develop." The last reason is concerned with matters like the "Heart of the Symphony" and "Heart of the Concerto" volumes; it is the other reasons that concern us here; and whereas one or another of them might have given us recordings of those great performances of Mozart concertos by Schnabel with the New Friends of Music Orchestra that were not recorded, or of some of the finest of the unfamiliar Haydn symphonies played by the New Friends Orchestra that were left unrecorded, none of the reasons accounts for the recording of the "Jena" Symphony.

Moreover, the waste of scarce materials, plant, and labor on this work or on tripe like Dai-keong Lee's Prelude and Hula, performed by Kindler with the National Symphony (11-8452, $1), is harder to take when one opens the new Victor catalogue and notes some of the things that have been eliminated for the duration because of the wartime shortages—things like the volume of Schubert songs sung by Elisabeth Schumann, Schubert's Trio Opus 100, Mozart's Piano Concertos K. 450, 453, 459, Mozart's Quintets K. 515 and 593, several of his quartets, most of the volumes of Haydn quartets, many of Beethoven's quartets—and this while "The Heart of the Symphony" and "The Heart of the Concerto" are retained. Or when one goes into record stores for the Glyndebourne Festival recording of Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro" and other things that are still in the catalogue, and finds that they might just as well be out of it.

It is only fair to add that Columbia too has wasted scarce materials, plant, and labor on things like Cowell's "Tales of Our Countryside," while it has eliminated some important works from its catalogue for the duration and others permanently and cannot keep dealers supplied with the works that the catalogue still lists.

B. H. HAGGIN

Towards a Program for Jews

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Letters to the Editors

Soldiers and the Rights of Negroes

Dear Sirs: In something over a year of service among soldiers of varied background and education, I've observed some prevalent attitudes toward the Negro that surprised me and may be of some interest to others. The most striking thing I have observed is the strange intensity of the average soldier's preoccupation with the condition of the Negro minority. More discussions, heated arguments, and exchanges of experience developed about this topic than any other subject.

I could not avoid the feeling that a strong undercurrent of tension, seldom consciously understood even among the most alert and liberal, constantly brought the issue of this submerged group to the surface. Those raised to accept inequality felt the need to defend a system they couldn't whole-heartedly favor; those politically, morally, or environmentally alive to the contradiction of segregation and discrimination in a democracy, those who realize the dangers we face in seeking international comity with a record of national racism, the advocates, in short, of fuller rights and opportunities for the Negro, are on the offensive. The bigots seek refuge in dogmatism, a rosy version of the status quo, or a cautious gradualism.

It would seem that a crisis is approaching, that a vigilant minority is determined to support the Negro in his struggle for recognition, that a deeply ingrained prejudice supported by the economic, educational, and present social inferiority of the Negro is seeking to find a solution that will not disturb its complacence, though the vocal supporters of that prejudice dwindle in number if not in noise.

If these limited observations can be generally applied, is there not reason to suppose that efforts of the Negro to raise himself economically will receive increased support and tolerance after the war? Few still oppose the extension of equal educational chances for all Americans. Social recognition alone seems without sufficient widespread support and thus makes possible the occurrence of violent and prolonged resistance, likely to be intense if the advance is too rapid.

Service men are thinking of these problems and won't stop thinking of them when they return home. I do not believe they will bring home solutions, but at least they cannot have avoided a realization of the problem. If post-war adjustments in America provide better jobs and schools and homes and real hope for the Negro, our uneasy consciences may find constructive release. The alternative would seem to be paralyzing social conflict and the retarding of the nation's advance to the freedoms we are fighting for.

PRIVATE

Somewhere in Texas, September 21

Note on Cripps

Dear Sirs: You will recall that in your issues of September 19 and September 26, 1942—just a year ago—you printed articles by me on Why Cripps Failed in which I quoted documents and authoritative statements to prove that Cripps's proposals were rejected because he originally offered India a national Cabinet government with the Viceroy serving in a capacity similar to that of the King of England, and then, under pressure, withdrew the offer. Interestingly enough, I have just come across the text of a speech which Sir Stafford Cripps, then not yet an official, delivered in the House of Commons on October 26, 1939, wherein he proposed exactly the same thing. He said, "The majority parties in the legislature should form a government, which the Viceroy would then appoint as his Executive Council. It is true that, technically and in accordance with the constitution, the Executive Council would not be a Cabinet, but there is no reason on earth why the [British] government should not give an understanding that the Viceroy would deal with that Executive Council, so appointed from the members of the majority of the Legislative Assembly, as if it were a Cabinet on all matters: that is to say, he would accept their advice as the Crown here accepts the advice of the Cabinet when duly tendered to it."

In October, 1939, the month when this speech was delivered, Cripps handed to Lord Halifax, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a scheme embodying this idea of an Indian Cabinet government with a Viceroy as non-executive sovereign. I was in London at the time and he showed it to me.

There is no doubt of course that this is exactly what he originally offered the Indian party representatives with whom he negotiated in New Delhi in March-April, 1942.

LOUIS FISCHER

New York, September 22

Not a "Steal"

Dear Sirs: Never in the many, many, many years I have been reading *The Nation* have I thought you unfair nor—I hasten to add—do I now. There are two sides to almost any question. There most certainly is another side to our request for an increase in the price of crude oil—other than that reflected in your issue of August 28.

Suppose the Brotherhoods asked for a wage increase and a committee composed of Mr. A, president of Morgan and Company, Mr. B, president of the National City Bank, and Mr. C, president of the First National Bank of Chicago, branded the request a "steal" and pointed out that fifteen of the leading railroads showed profits 20 per cent above those of last year, would *The Nation* say, "The committee is to be commended for its forthright report attacking the increase for the steal that it is"?

There are in the United States thousands upon thousands of independent oil producers. They produce millions of barrels of crude oil every year. The vast majority are very small operators, trying to pay for a home or a farm, raise and educate a family, pay a fair price to their employees, and discharge their obligations. Their only income is derived from the sale of their crude oil to the pipe-line company (no doubt one of the fifteen companies referred to in your editorial). The difference between what it cost the operator to find and produce this oil and what he received for it from the pipe-line company represents his profit or his salary or his wages—call it what you will—but no thinking person should deny that it cost the operator something to locate his oil. It is rare, indeed, for a man to drill one well and find oil. The number of dry holes drilled each year will bear this out. It is just as certain that it costs the operator a certain amount per barrel to produce his oil, and the operator is certainly entitled to a living. He knows, too, that every barrel produced means

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that much less under ground; so to continue in business he of necessity is trying to find new oil to replenish his reserve. That is all he has to sell—his oil. When his wells are depleted, he is through.

One of the first official acts of Leon Henderson was to freeze the price of crude oil. The net result of this is that the producer receives for his oil the same price he received in 1938. To make this clear, I as a producer of crude oil received for a barrel of oil in August, 1943, exactly what I received in August, 1938—five years ago.

I have never met Julius J. Luhrsen of the Brotherhoods, Boris Shishkin of the A. F. of L., or J. Raymond Walsh of the C. I. O., but I suppose they are men just about like me, with children and homes, and I suppose the wife tells them as she tells me that eggs are costing her 57 cents a dozen (they were 17 cents a dozen in August, 1938), and that potatoes and butter and everything else we eat cost much, much more than in 1938, and the clothes we and the children wear—in a nutshell, our dollar will not start to buy what it did in 1938. And I have an idea if any of the unions these gentlemen represent would ask for a wage increase on the ground they were receiving in 1943 the same scale they had in 1938, the request would receive a most sympathetic hearing, and it certainly should.

So we asked for a raise—under the circumstances a very normal procedure. We did not ask for a 35-cents-a-barrel raise; we asked that the price of crude oil be raised to the level of other basic commodities, whether it was 35 cents, 10 cents, or 75 cents a barrel. We asked for it purely on the basis I am discussing—parity. We attempted to show something so obvious it hardly seemed necessary—that costs of living and costs of doing business had increased greatly in five years, and that the price of our crude oil had not been permitted to rise correspondingly.

The phrase "to encourage more production" was foreign to us. We have no idea where it started or what it means. I squirm when I see it in print.

Our boys are fighting and dying, just like yours. We are doing everything we possibly can do to win this war, just like you, and we are trying to retain our homes and our business for our boys to come back to, just like you. We are just plain hard-working American citizens—thousands of us. Few of us had the benefit of a college education—many did not even go through high school—but we are trying to see that our children do.

We certainly had no intention of being parties to a "steal," and while of course I don't know Mr. Ickes, I can't find it in my heart to believe he would be a party to a "steal" either.

There are but three facts to ascertain: (a) the number of independent oil producers; (b) the portion of crude oil they produce; (c) have costs gone up in the past five years? Mr. Ickes, Petroleum Administrator for War, should certainly supply you with (a) and (b); fact (c) may be more difficult to secure. What the profit statements of fifteen large oil corporations have to do with the condition of thousands and thousands of small crude-oil producers scattered over some twenty states is hard for me to understand. Would it not be just as logical to say the cotton farmer in Louisiana was making lots of money, because the cotton mills in Boston were making huge profits?

As a reader and a subscriber of *The Nation*—not one who accidentally stumbled on the editorial—and in the spirit of fairness and justice, I am asking you to review our request for an increase in the price of crude oil—solely and purely on the basis of parity. You will find, I am sure, that we are asking only to be raised to the economic level of organized labor and organized industry, and you will also find we try to be honest and honorable in our thinking and in our living—just like you.

NEVILLE G. PENROSE

Forth Worth, Tex., September 3

[We are impressed with Mr. Penrose's statement of the case for the independent producer and shall discuss it editorially in the next issue of *The Nation.*]

Problems of Young Children

Dear Sirs: The National Association for Nursery Education is holding its tenth biennial meeting in Boston, Massachusetts, October 22 to 25, with headquarters at the Hotel Statler. This will be a work-study conference on "The Community Serves the Child in War and Peace." Registration opens the morning of October 22, and the first general session will be held that evening on the topic "The World Picture and the Implications for Education." Subsequent sessions will consist of study groups which will discuss child-development problems based on actual case histories of various communities.

The problems of young children, intensified by present war conditions, can only be solved by persons interested in protecting and improving health, welfare, and education. Despite the curtailment of travel, it is hoped that, because of the vital need for coordinated planning and action, as many leaders in the field as possible will make an effort to participate.

MARJORIE L. CRAIG, Chairman,
Public Relations Committee

New York, September 15

Hard Life

Dear Sirs: Article of War 62 suggests that the good soldier not use "contemptuous or disrespectful words against . . . the Congress of the United States." After checking the record of the first session of the 78th, some of us feel that obedience to this order is one of the many aspects of life in war time that Congress has not made easy.

CORPORAL

Somewhere in England, September 6

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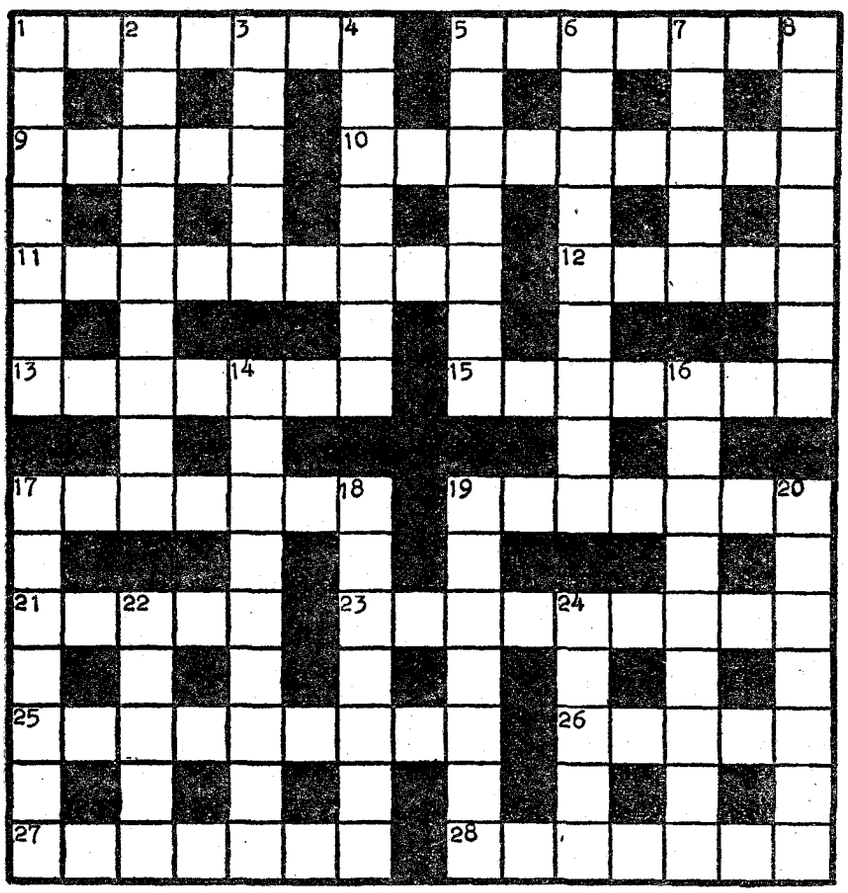
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 33

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Party that starts off with the truth and ends with something done
5 Their chief troubles are little ones
9 A very old form of anchor
10 Possible transformation of a real fish (two words, 5 and 4)
11 It usually raises more hope than hair (two words, 4 and 5)
12 A defeated army may be, in more than one sense (two words, 3 and 2)
13 Midshipmen in their jackets
15 By this the Frenchman does not mean the drawing-room
17 Everyone fit (two words, 3 and 4)
19 Rocket's route
21 Blooming thing that may be all lit up
23 Agreed on a soft drink
25 Thorough (three words, 3, 3 and 3)
26 Home of the condor
27 Transfixed or nearly so
28 He feels sorry for himself

DOWN

1 Reputably able to knock people down but never known to do so
2 Indo-Chinese ale, maybe, is red
3 Putting a backward writer in it is silly
4 Reason the check bounded back? (two words, 2 and 5)
5 What sort of cane has the varnish *inside?*
6 The double-cross would naturally give you a pain around the middle
7 Just so
8 Bad violinist exalted to the sky by New Yorkers
14 A morning drink (hyphen, 3 and 6)
16 Where a cow, according to Dr. Johnson, is not a very good animal (three words, 2, 1 and 6)
17 Words are but the shadows of them, Democritus said
18 Name for an old Pole
19 On a racecourse, man or beast
20 This is where the mugs get hung up
22 Machine made by the French and the English
24 Mental apprehension

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 33

ACROSS:— 1 NIGHTCAP; 5 CANINE; 10 CHALICE; 11 ADULLAM; 12 ACID; 13 IDIOT; 16 BEST; 17 ANEROID; 19 ALICE; 20 LESSEE; 22 TRUNDLE; 23 HAMLET; 25 EDICT; 27 DINNERS; 31 NONE; 32 AEGIS; 33 TRIO; 36 INGRATE; 37 HOISTER; 38 GARAGE; 39 PHILIPPE.

DOWN:—1 NECTAR; 2 GLACIAL; 3 TRIP; 4 AMENDE; 6 AGUE; 7 ILLNESS; 8 ENMITIES; 9 YAHOO; 13 INERTIA; 14 IRONING; 15 TILLERS; 17 ACTED; 18 DEEDS; 21 THINKING; 24 MANAGER; 26 CORK TIP; 28 NEWER; 29 EIGHTH; 30 SOURCE; 34 GANG; 35 DIAL.

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